

The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur

The *Cheitharon Kumpapa*

Vol. 2, 1764–1843 CE



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Original text, translation and notes

Vol. 1 33–1763 CE

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Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt

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Endpaper illustration

Map of the eastern frontier of British India, with the adjacent countries extending to Yunan in China, by captain R. Boileu Pemberton (Calcutta, 1838).
Courtesy of the British Library.

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PREFACE

This is the second volume containing the original text of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*, together with a translation into English and explanatory notes. The problems of translating this text and the methodology I have adopted have been set out in the Introduction to Volume 1. (*The Court Chronicle of Manipur: the Cheitharon Kumpapa Vol. 1, 33–1763 CE*, Routledge 2005, Indian edition available from Foundation Books, New Delhi, ISBN 978–04–1534–430–5). This Introduction also deals with the nature of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*, together with questions of its dating and historical value, and textual matters. These issues equally apply to the present volume and readers are requested to refer back to the Introduction to Volume 1 for clarification as necessary.

Volume 2 covers the period from 1764–1843 CE, that is from the resumption of the kingship by Chingthangkhompa (also known as Bhagyachandra or Jai Singh) until the promotion of Nara Singh from Regent to King in January 1844. During this period the influence of Hinduism increased and the writers of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* have used numerous loan words and technical terms imported from Bengali and Sanskrit. A few Hindustani terms were used as well. I have retained the Manipuri spelling for these terms and added explanatory notes.

There are two important British records dating from this period: Capt. R. Boileau Pemberton's *Report on the Frontier of British India* (Calcutta 1835) and Maj. W. McCulloch's *Account of the Valley of Muni-pore and the Hill Tribes* (Calcutta 1859). There is also a summary of British official records in A. Mackenzie's *History of the Relations of the Government of India with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal* (Calcutta 1884).

I am once again greatly indebted to the Royal Asiatic Society, and especially to Alisan Ohta and Anna Lethbridge, for funding the printing of this volume. I hope that it may contribute towards the renewed interest both in the *Meetei Mayek* script and also in the history of the border region between India and Burma (Myanmar).

I wish again to acknowledge my gratitude and indebtedness to the late Kulachandra Ngariyanbam, the Head *Maichou* of the *Pundit Loisang*, for granting access to the official palace copy of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*. I also acknowledge my gratitude to Bhubon Sougrakpam, Sopen Kshetrimayum and Irabanta Nameirakpam, of the National Research Centre, Kanchipur; to Radheshyam Chingakham the Chief Librarian, Manipur University; to my brother-in-law Dr Sarat Kumar Namaram and my sister Mema Arambam for kindly obtaining copies of several manuscript leaves which were missing in my photocopy; to my husband John Parratt for reading and commenting on the drafts; and our daughter and sons, Rachel, Tim and Chris for their advice and help.

Saroj N. Arambam Parratt

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ch.K.</i>	<i>Cheitharon Kumpapa</i>
<i>P. Ms.</i>	Official palace manuscript of <i>Ch.K.</i> in the custody of Pundit Ngariyanbam Kulachandra
<i>Madhab Ms.</i>	<i>P. Ms.</i> copied by Thongngam Madhab
<i>Din. Ms.</i>	Manuscript of <i>Ch.K.</i> copied by Nameirakpam Dinachandra which was in his custody
<i>LI. & NK Ch.K.</i> (i)	<i>Ch.K.</i> transliterated into Bengali script and edited by Lairenmayum Ibungohal and Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra and published by Manipur Sahitya Parishad in 1967
<i>LI. & NK Ch.K.</i> (ii)	<i>Ch.K.</i> transliterated into Bengali script: an expanded version of the 1967 edition, edited by Lairenamyum Ibungohal and Ningthoukhongjam Khelachandra and published by Manipur Sahitya Parishad in 1989, after the death of the former

PART ONE

LIST OF KINGS

<i>Kings</i>	<i>Sak</i>	<i>CE</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Ms Page</i>
Meetingu Chingthangkhopma (Bhagyachandra, Jai Singh)	1686–1720	1764–1798	3	227
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Meetingu Tamlenkhompa (Madhuchandra)	1722–1725	1800–1803	59	333
Meetingu Phalong Wairnag Pamheips (Chourajit)	1725–1735	1803–1813	64	345
Meetingu Nongpok Wairang Pamheipa (Marjit)	1735–1742	1813–1820	77	374
Yipungsi Herachandra (Taku Ningthou, The King of Patriots)	1742	1820	83	387
Yipungsi Sna Yimchao Tapa	1743	1821	85	391
Meetingu Chinglen Nongtren Khopma (Gambhir Singh)	1743	1821	85	392
Yipungsi Jai Sing	1743–1744	1821–1822	86	393
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Meetingu Rakhop Sing	1745–1746	1823–1824	88	398
Meetingu Nongchup Lamkai Ngampa (Vadra Singh)	1747	1825	90	402
Meetingu Chinglem Nongtren Khompa (Gambhir Singh reoccupies the throne)	1747–1755	1825–1833	90	402
Chandra Kriti Singh (minor king) (Yipungsi Nara Singh Senapati as Regent)	1755–1765	1833–1843	109	445

MEETEI LUNAR MONTHS

With their approximate equivalents
in the western calendar

<i>Sachiphu</i>	March/April
<i>Kalen</i>	April/May
<i>Yinga</i>	May/June
<i>Yingen</i>	June/July
<i>Thawan</i>	July/August
<i>Langpan</i>	August/September
<i>Mera</i>	September/October
<i>Hiyangkei</i>	October/November
<i>Poinu</i>	November/December
<i>Wakching</i>	December/January
<i>Phairen</i>	January/February
<i>Lamta</i>	February/March

PART TWO

THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA*
THE COURT CHRONICLE OF THE
MEETEI KINGS OF MANIPUR
(KANGLEIPAK): ENGLISH
TRANSLATION VOL. 2

MEETINGU CHINGTHANGKHOMPA (SOLE KING)
SAKABDA 1686–1720 (1764–1798 CE)

Sakabda 1685 (1764 CE)

[The year of Santham Panting, Sakabda 1685 (1763 CE). 29 Tuesday Thawan (July/August), Meetingu Marampa ascended to the heavens. His royal younger brother Meetingu Chingthangkhompa, became king.]¹

- 1 Chingthangkhompa was given two Sanskritic names by the Hindu admirers, Vagyachandra and Jai Singh.

Sakabda 1686 (1764 CE)

The year of Laisram Kangparam, Sakabda 1686 (1764 CE). In the month of Wakching (December/January) Yipungsi Haricharan the Senapati left to attack Aawa. They fought at the Tumu market but they were not victorious and retreated. The *Hajari*¹ of Naharup (*Pana*) and Khetri Chaitanya lost their lives at the battle. 28 Phairen (January/February) the Maharaj² set out to attack Aawa. They encamped at Kakching. They barricaded themselves behind (bales of) straw and they fought against Aawa. But they could not defeat (the enemy) and retreated. Paji Horidas, Banlakchan and Nakanpa the *Hajari*, these three stayed behind and fought with the sword on the battlefield. The land was devastated. Chingthangkhompa fled to the land of Mayang and reached Tekhao. Most of the inhabitants of the land went and stayed at Moirang.

- 1 *Hajari*: for Hindusthani *Hazari*; commander of one thousand horses or men.
2 *Maharaj*: Meetingu Chingthangkhompa.

Sakabda 1687 (1765 CE)

The year of Bamon Pitambor, Sakabda 1687 (1765 CE). The Aakham maiden, the Maharani, was made to leave for (the land of) Mayang to join Ningthem. The Maharani and her son Hemchantra, the Jubaraj, were killed in the land of Mayang. Yipungsi Tulyab Sai, Loukrakpa the *Hajari*, Chingkhanpa the *Hinaohanpa*¹ and Shri Ram of Sanglen, all these four men were killed by the king of Moirang.

1 *Hinaohanpa*: the head of a boat crew.

Sakabda 1688 (1766 CE)

The year of Pamon Joykrishna, Sakabda 1688 (1766 CE). Moirang Chantramani built the big barricade at Kaoren Aontha. The people of Kyamkei were made to establish a village at Torpung. Many people died. The king of Moirang attacked Sachung and was victorious. Yipungsi Ngoubtram came from Mayang. The Haopam maiden, the Maharani, died. Mayamma¹ the king of Moirang killed Chantramani.

1 *Mayamma*: Scribal correction in the Ms. text from Mayampa to Mayamma.

Sakabda 1689 (1767 CE)

The year of Bamon Harinanda, Sakabda 1689 (1767 CE). The king of Moirang left for Aawa. The royal maternal uncle, the *Senapati*, Yipungsi the *Khwairakpa*, the royal younger brother Yipungo Bhabananda, with Masempa of Moirang, and the majority of the people of the land went out from Moirang as far as Sangaithen to meet the Maharaj, taking with them most of the royal regalia, when they heard the news that the king had marched from Tekhao with an eighty thousand strong army. Salam Khungam killed Moirang Masempa at Lanluphei. On Saturday, the first day of the lunar month of **Lamta** (February/March) Luchon was killed at the Moirangpat lake. Moirang was devastated. Nindrananda the boat maker and Sairom Gangkaram were also killed. All the (inhabitants) of the land of the Meeteis marched back from Moirang, village by village, to their homes. 6 Thursday, Maharaj Chingthangkhopma arrived at Sangaithen.

Sakabda 1690 (1768 CE)

The year of Laisram Paloi, Sakabda 1690 (1768 CE). The Maharaj left Sangaithen and stayed in Sangaibrou in the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April). As the king of Moirang was returning from Aawa, he was killed at Khari paddy field by the Meetei army. Aawa sent two elephants (to the Meetei king). Sicha Phongta Lokpi the queen of Tekhao, daughter of Meetingu Marampa,¹ was escorted to Tekhao by Yipungsi

the *Lakpa* of Khwai along with his son Biramaninda, Haopam Bishnuram and Loktonpa the *Keirungpa*. He left to escort the princess with these three men.

- 1 *Meetengu Marampa*: *Meetengu* and *Meetingu* are alternatively used, scribal style.

Sakabda 1691 (1769 CE)

The year of Langmaithem kyong, Sakabda 1691 (1769 CE). Yipungsi Biramaninda, who escorted the queen of Tekhao, returned from Tekhao. The king of Tekhao presented six elephants. The Maharaj also moved to Chajing. Khanasyam the craftsman and Moirengcham Khokintra, these two marched with the Aawa (army) and devastated the land. Ningthem fled to Mayang. Keipiram, who was stationed in the area of Mayang Ningthounai¹ became the Protector² of the land. Sanlam Khungam, Mukunta from Meitan Keisangpam, and Sodananda the *Nongthonpa*, these three were killed. Yipungsi Bhobananda was handed over to Aawa.

- 1 *Mayang Ningthounai*: the area where Mayangs who were the servants of the king were settled.
- 2 *Leipak ngakye*: became the protector. Since the rightful king fled the country, the term implies that the occupying power the Aawa appointed a protector. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1692 (1770 CE)

The year of Makeng Khanglapung, Sakabda 1692 (1770 CE). Yipungsi Nanda marched from Aawa with an army of Aawas and after killing Keipiram on the street¹ and after appointing his younger brother, Yipungo Kukila Nanda as the protector of the land, he tried to gather up and capture the Meeteis as prisoners. But the Meeteis killed seven hundred of them in the battle.

- 1 *Sorok*: street. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1693 (1771 CE)

The year of Maisnam Pureng, Sakabda 1693 (1771 CE). The five *Panas* made a cast of five *kamran* guns.¹ They invaded (the villages of) Langkhong Hao and the new Kapuis.

- 1 *Kamran*: probably a cannon.

Sakabda 1694 (1772 CE)

The year of Nongthonpa Mupa Thumthoipa, Sakabda 1694 (1772 CE), 15 Sachiphu (March/April) Friday there was a lunar eclipse. Aviram the guard of

6 The *Cheitharon Kumpapa*

Meitan-kei (store)¹ and Soibam Syamram, these two encamped at Sangai then saying that the king must be prevented from returning. Leicha (the attendant) of *Laibakhra* (*laipakhra*)² killed them both. 24 Sunday, the Maharaj also arrived at Sangai then. 25 Monday, he reached Wangmakeiroi. 26 Tuesday, Ningthem reached Sanglangmei. 28 Thursday, Elangpa the *Hajari* left for Mayang to escort the queen back. In the month of **Sachiphu**³ (March/April) Yipungo Kukilananda paid obeisance to the Maharaj at *Mahabali*.⁴ Sunday the first day of the lunar month, Sanlam Harinara the *Senlungpa* was deported to *Loi*. 2 Monday, Phuritsapa caught a bear. 9 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 14 Saturday, Narahari of Kapo left for the land of Aawa. 28 Saturday, the Maharani arrived. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 10 Wednesday, Narahari returned. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, the emissary from Takhen arrived. 14 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 16 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, they built a royal house by the foot of the *heikhakok* tree.⁵ 16 Saturday, Yumnapa Ramchoron left for Mayang. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday and it was the second day of the lunar month. On the 15 there was a lunar eclipse. 18 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. 18 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 18 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, Santhinpa Gopan the *Senapati* set off to attack Aawa. 13 Wednesday, the Maharani evacuated to Thongchao. 18 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 25 Sunday, the Maharaj set off to attack Aawa. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, the whole land was in turmoil.⁶ Ningthem fled to Mayang. The Aawas stationed themselves in villages for five months. They (Meeteis) abandoned five cannons at the Tumu Lokchao ravine. Bhagabanta Sing became the Protector of the country. 17 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 18 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. New moon Tuesday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday.

- 1 *Meitan keisangpa*: *Meitan* could be either the name of the place or the storehouse where charcoal was stored, in which case he was the storekeeper of charcoal. Charcoal was and still is used for heating in the cold winter months. The *keisangpas* were also responsible for supplying the charcoal to the king. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Laibakhra/Laipakhra*: literally, the *lai* for the widowers.
- 3 *Sajiphu*: *j* is used in place of *ch*.
- 4 *Mahabali*: the new name given to the *Mongpahanpa* grove, a sacred area dedicated to the *Lais* after the building of a temple for *Hanuma*.
- 5 *Heikhakok* tree: An evergreen fruit tree whose fruits are of the size of a tennis ball with a very hard skin which turns yellow when ripe. The fruit has a sweet taste and has a yellowish pulp.
- 6 *Leibak kaiye*: literally, the country was shattered.

Sakabda 1695 (1773 CE)

The year of Lairikyengpa Ngakra, Sakabda 1695 (1773 CE). 20 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 26 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 28 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. Sunday full moon, there was a lunar eclipse. In that year Syamram of Aawa, the *Lakpa* of Khapham (*Pana*), Yirom Basi, the *Hajari* from Thongchao, Lokhampa the *Keirungpa*, Aakhom Syam Kanhu, Salam Aajjun, Ngangbam Gopinath, Khaitem Lokhon Sing, Khongkon of Sangsang, Satpam Laipa, Satokpam Lokhon Sing, Sarong Gopan, Keisam Hori, Tongbram Murari, Naorem Chudamani and Loitongpam Murari, were killed by Chantragya.¹ 28 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday and it was also reckoned as the second day of the lunar month. 7 Friday, Hawaipam Premkanta was deported to Loi. 28 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 8 Sunday, Yipungsi the Jubraj and Yipungsi the *Mantri*, both the grand father and the grandson, these two arrived together. 11 Sunday, the Maharaj arrived. He arrived at the Angom homestead. The month of **Wakching** (December/January)² began on Thursday. 3 Friday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* along with many of his extended family were allowed to return to Mayang. 5 Monday, a star went in the moon.³ 7 Wednesday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for Takhen. 10 Saturday, the Maharaj went down to Thoubun to confer with the Kabui Haos. 11 Sunday, Ningthem returned. 12 Monday, Ningthem went down to Haochei to confer with the Luppa Haos. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 9 Sunday, Wakongthempa Murari arrived from Aawa. 25 Tuesday, as Ningthem was going to Takhen, he also went to Moirang on the way. On the same day, Tuesday, there was an earthquake. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday.

- 1 *Chantragya*: No allusion as to who this man was except that he had acted as the executioner of the occupying power. The whole sentence is very cryptic.
- 2 No entry for the month of Poinu (November/December).
- 3 Literally, a star went in the moon. Probably the moon passed and hid the star. An astrological condition.

Sakabda 1696 (1774 CE)

The year of Chungsupam Hongba, Sakabda 1696 (1774 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on a Monday. On that day Chantragya arrived at the Haopam homestead. 8 Tuesday, they built the bridge at Sanchenthong. Nagun was dismissed. On that day there was an earthquake. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 9 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 11 Sunday, Wangkhei was appointed the Protector of the land. The month of **Yinga** (June/July) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, Chandragya left. The month of **Yingen** (June/July)

began on Saturday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, three elephants were caught in the area of Loktak. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 18 Friday, a woman was bitten by a tiger in the house of Heisnam and she died. 20 Sunday, the tiger was caught at Mongpahanpa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday.

Sakabda 1697 (1775 CE)

The year of Wairangpa Anantram, Sakabda 1697 (1775 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 15 Monday, Chantam Hingngampa and Mongpicham Ganggaram, these two messengers who were sent by Ningthem from Mayang, arrived. 22 Sunday, Chantam Hingampa and Monpicham Gangkaram,¹ these two left for Mayang. 26 Thursday, the emissaries from Mayang also arrived. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on a Tuesday. 12 Saturday, there was a great flood and even those houses and granaries which were on safe ground in the past were under water. All the paddy crops were destroyed that year. The temple of Aakoi (family) also collapsed. Many people died. There was a severe shortage of food. One *Sangpai*² basket of paddy was sold at 30,000 *sen* (currency coin). 14 Monday, the Mayang emissaries returned. 27 Thursday, Wangkhei distributed salt and cash in the market and each person received 100 *sen* and a 100 salt cakes. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 2 Friday, a tiger was caught amidst the houses of the Wahengpam family. 17 Friday, Senchapa Syamnogar left for Aawa. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on a Friday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. 21 Saturday, Thangjam Govintram the *Nongthonpa* was deported to (*Loi to*) Suknu. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on a Wednesday. 25 Friday, Wangkhei Jagadananda left for Aawa. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. Sunday full moon, there was a lunar eclipse. On that day Jagdananda and Syamnogar, these two arrived from Aawa. 19 Thursday, Syamnogar once again went back to Aawa. 27 Friday, (they) went to hunt at Takna and caught two beasts. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. On that day once again (they) went to Takna to hunt and they caught 13 beasts. 16 Wednesday, (they) continued once again to hunt at Takna. Many beasts were caught. On that day the Maharaj arrived from Mayang. 18 Friday, Wangkhei was deported to Mayang. 19 Saturday, the Maharaj went down to Lammangtong. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. On that day (they) went down to Kaina to inspect jack fruit trees. The Pangganpam family of Kaina was exempted from the compulsory service to the state as it was regarded as the paternal home of Gobinda.³

- 1 Gangkaram for Ganggaram of the previous sentence.
- 2 One *Sangbai* basket: app. 29.86 kg.
- 3 *Mapam*: term is used for parental home of a married Manipuri maiden who leaves her home and family after marriage to join her husband. In exceptional cases where the husband joins and stays with his bride, the term used is *Yawong Inpa* by the male. Tradition has it that the image of Govinda was carved out of a jack fruit tree which was growing in this man's garden. Though Govinda is a male diety the term used to indicate his origin is that for a female. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1698 (1776 CE)

The year of Heisnam Khunngam, Sakabda 1698 (1776 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 8 Friday, the Maharani who returned from Mayang arrived at Lammangtong. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 29 Sunday, Yipungsi the Jubaraj was injured while playing polo. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 19 Tuesday, the Maharaj went to Langching to inspect building plots for houses. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 12 Friday, after the dawn *yuthak*¹ at about one *pung* hour which was reckoned as the *Mahendra* hour² of the following Monday, Shri Govinda was installed.³ The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 7 Friday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Yaiskun died. One of his wives tried to die with him but she could not and fled. She was arrested and deported to *Loi* to Suknu.⁴ 25 Tuesday, Yipungsi Khapa arrived from Mayang. On the new moon Sunday, Thakur Bityalangka and other Bamons arrived from Mayang. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 4 Friday was the Sangkranti of Sachiphu.

- 1 *Yuthak* and *Pung*: method of reckoning time by the Meeteis. See Introduction and additional note in Vol. 1.
- 2 *Mohendra khyen*: from Bengali *Khyen* meaning a specific period in time. *Mohendra* another name for *Indra*, a Hindu deity. Friday was regarded as Monday according to an astronomical calculation.
- 3 *Nirpon*: Bengali term used to indicate the rite performed by Brahmins in which a new image is believed to be infused with life, making it become a diety. After this rite the image is worshipped by all Hindus including those Brahmins themselves who have deified it.
- 4 *Suknuta Loi thaiye*: Deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Deportation to Suknu was the prerogative of the king only, and it also had a deeper implication, that of capital punishment by drowning. *Sati* was considered an evil deserving punishment and failed to take root in Manipur.

Sakabda 1699 (1777 CE)

The year of Sekmai Munga, Sakabda 1699 (1777 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 6 Tuesday, the emissaries from Takhen arrived. 13 Tuesday, the emissaries from Takhen were given a royal audience at court. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 7 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 28 Thursday, all those eighty people who were evacuated to Namsekmupa during the time when food was scarce in the land returned. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 2 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 11 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 12 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan¹. 21 Monday, Yipungsi the Jubaraj caught a tiger at Mayangkeinou. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. The Maharaj and some others began to take up ritual begging for seven days as the order of *Jaganath Prabhu* reached them. 14 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. On that day Meina the *Hajari* escorted the emissaries from Takhen and they left by way of Moirang. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 8 Saturday, Yipungsi Khapa and Wangkheichand, these two left (for Mayang). 13 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 21 Thursday, the Paonam maiden married to the Aakham family; the Maharani's mother died. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 14 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 21 Saturday, Meina the *Hajari* returned. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. On that day Meina the *Hajari* was deported to Loi. 13 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 5 Monday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* along with the army made up from his *Phungkanai* servants² left to attack Saipung. 14 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 15 Wednesday, Yipi from Lairikyengpam family gave birth to a princess. 20 Monday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* who went to attack the Khiki Haos³ returned. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 13 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 13 Thursday, the racing barges for Aahanlup and Laipham (*Panas*) arrived.

- 1 *Sangkranti of Thawan*: entered twice in the same month at different dates.
- 2 *Phungkanai Lanlamka*: *Phungkanai*: all the followers of the Mantri as well as those who were his servants. *Lanlam*: probably the army formed from this group, *ka*: post position. It was a common practice for any prince or any high ranking officer to have a large number of followers who would serve their master in any capacity. This Mantri was both a prince and also occupied a high post, that of a prime minister.
- 3 *Khiki*: probably a scribal error for *Khaki*: southern China or those of Khaki origin.

Sakabda 1700 (1778 CE)

The year of Aakoksa Gobintram, Sakabda 1700 (1778 CE). 16 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. 23 Monday, the boats for Naharup and Khapham *Panas* arrived. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 10 Wednesday,

they built Ningthem's palace. 16 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. On that day the country was in darkness. Dust fell like rain. 3 Friday, Aarampa the *Keirungpa* was deported to *Loi* to Aarong. Ngangpam Aachutananda also was deported to *Loi* at Yiharai. 7 Monday, they cast an image of (*lai*) *Snamahi*.¹ On that day the Kapui Haos were made to play a hockey match. 15 Wednesday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. 17 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 20 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 22 Thursday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for Soisa Kameng to plant pupil trees there; he then left for all the areas in each of the four directions to plant more pupil trees. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 7 Thursday, Satpam Murari arrived from Mayang. 8 Friday, Yipungsi the Jubraj returned after his expedition of planting pupil trees. 14 Friday, Mongpijam maiden the Tampak Leima² gave birth to a princess. 21 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 20 Friday, the king's personal main attendants were chosen from the soldiers. 21 Saturday, Loukrakpa Nimai the *Hitang* of the horse grooms and others left to fell trees for the fast barge. 23 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 29 Saturday, the news reached that the tree for the fast barge had been felled. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. 10 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* departed to drag the fast barge. 14 Monday, Satpam Krishnadepa the *Pukhranpa* died. 25 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* returned after he had dragged the fast barge down. 24 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 14 Thursday, Loktonpa the *Keirungpa* died. 25 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 13 Thursday, Yipungsi the Jubraj and Yipungsi the *Mantri*, both departed to drag the fast barge. 17 Monday, Tensupa Gangathon the *Senlumgpa* died. 24 Monday was the first *Sangkranti*³ of Wakching. 25 Tuesday, the Maharaj departed for Ngarachingchen mountain to drag the fast barge. On that day the Haos killed two servants of a *Bamon* while they were collecting firewood. 27 Thursday, Ningthem returned with two fast barges. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 7 Sunday, the Maharaj went to inspect a building plot in Langthapan. 24 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, the Mayang emissary Aakhun Tao arrived. 4 Saturday, the Maharaj dissuaded an intended dual with swords between Moiphengpa the *Keirungpa* and the *Hanjapa* of *Laipakhra Sangku*⁴ and they did not fight. 24 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday.

1 *Snamahi* is the name for the supreme god of the Manipuris and who was not represented in any form. Attributes such as creator, sustainer, imageless, almighty and infinite are attached to him. *Snamahi* could also mean the life force, from *sna* royal, divine, *mahi* liquid, blood, life in an anthropomorphic sense. Image was made for *Snamahi* for the first time.

2 *Tampak Leima*: Title for the Jubraj's wife.

12 The *Cheitharon Kumpapa*

- 3 *Sangkranti ahnpa*: *Ahanpa*: meaning the first in chronology or new. Older or first Sangkranti. In the term *Ahnpa* the short vowel *a* between *h* and *n* is understood. Meaning is obscure. The zodiac almanac seems to have taken precedence over the Meetei lunar month.
- 4 *Laipakhra Sangku Hanchapa*: or short form. *Sangku Hanchapa*: *Sangku* was the name given to the group of children born of Hindu ascetics. *Laipakhra* probably was the patron *lai* or divinity of widowers. The *Hanchapa* was in charge of *Laipakhra Sangku* group and he held a position in the Cheirap Court along with all the other *lai* attendants. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1701 (1779 CE)

The year of Maibam Chakrabani, Sakabda 1701 (1779 CE). 26 Monday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, they caught a *santhou*¹ at Laikabi ravine. 13 Wednesday, Yipungsi the Jubraj built the main Royal Palace for Ningthem at Kanchipur. On that day (the image of) *lai* Snamahi was inaugurated. As the Waisen bridge broke, (the image) fell in the water. Full moon Friday, the *lai*'s pond was inaugurated. 26 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 3 Tuesday, all the people, including the Maharaj, moved to Kanchipur from Bishnupur. 26 Friday, Sicha was escorted to Syampurna the *Hitang* of the *Pheita* (Institute). 28 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 26 Saturday, Haopam Cha Bishnuram, the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*), died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 16 Thursday, Syamkanhu the chief *Phourungpa*² also died. 26 Sunday, as Soraisampa was accused of having used black magic in the battle at Kharam; he was summoned with his wife and children. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday.³ On that day Yipi Satpi gave birth to prince Marjit. 4 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 5 Monday, Soraisumpa was deported to *Loi* to Suknu for practicing black magic. 25 Sunday, Wangkheichand arrived from Mayang. 28 Wednesday, Yipungsi Biramani died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 17 Monday, Yipungo Gobinda Sai the *Lakpa* of Yaishkun⁴ died. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, they started to build the Kangla (palace). 6 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. 6 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei.⁵ 5 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 13 Tuesday, they began to dig the river in Kanchipur. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. On that day all the Yipis, including the royal ladies, were permitted to join in digging the river. 5 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 10 Tuesday, the Maharaj provided *tan*⁶ for the army when they had a party. 16 Monday, Sija was escorted to Ngangpam Debaram. On the following day, Tuesday, they dredged the old river in one day. 27 Thursday, four severed heads of Haos who killed the Purums

were brought by the people of Suknu.⁷ 28 Saturday, Yibungsi the Jubraj left to pursue those who raided Suknu. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 23 Tuesday, Yibungsi the Jubraj returned after his attack on Sakang Khangyan. They captured and brought with them 80 people including Nongsityangpa and Chengpu, these two men. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday.

- 1 *Santhou*: a species of wild cattle.
- 2 *Phourungpa*: official in charge of paddy, both for growing, collecting and distributing the crop.
- 3 Yingen has been entered twice or it was an intercalary month.
- 4 Yaishkun: a variant spelling.
- 5 Hiyangkei: this month has been left out.
- 6 *Tan*: rolled out soft dough made of flour and water and deep fried in ghee or oil. Similar to Bengali *luchi*.
- 7 Sukunu: a variant spelling of Suknu.

Sakabda 1702 (1780 CE)

The year of Takhen Ramcharan, Sakabda 1702 (1780 CE). Tuesday, the first day of the lunar month of **Sachiphu** (Marc/April), was also the first *Sangkranti* of that month. 29 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday and it was taken as the second day of the lunar month. 10 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Kalen¹. On that day a princess was born to Yipungsi the Jubraj by his wife the Khuraijam maiden. Nampam Pureng also² was appointed the *Lakpa* of the village of Sangaibrou. He was escorted on an elephant's back. 11 Tuesday, Wangkhei Binindram arrived. 18 Tuesday, the Maharaj left to inspect a garden at Lammangtong. 20 Thursday, Sija Aaton, married into the Ngangpam family, died. 21 Friday, Ningthem returned from Lammangtong. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 12 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 20 Friday, one Mayang made himself an eunuch. 23 Monday, Keisam Gangaram, Maisnam Khongjompa, these two, took water ordeal by diving because of gold (which was stolen or missing). As Keisam Gangaram was guilty he floated. New moon Monday Loukrakpa the *Hitang* of the horse grooms died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, *lai* Gobindaji³ was made to ride in a boat. 6 Sunday, Ningthem and Sija went to Nungkei to feast on fruit. 14 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 26 Saturday, Yipunsi the Jubraj went and caught a tiger at Wakha. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 16 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 19 Monday, most (of the people) of the country left for Koubru to fell trees to make fast barges. 29 Wednesday, big round *sen* replaced the smaller ones. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, as it was said that a servant in Samupan had killed his mistress (employer), his hand was cut off⁴ and it was hung and displayed on a *Heipong*⁵ tree. 14 Thursday, Sansenpam Khungam was attacked by Puthem and he died. 16 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Mera. 25 Monday, Yipi Aakha gave

birth to a prince. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 16 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyankei. The month of **Hiyankei** (October/November) began on Monday. 17 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 13 Monday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for the northern area to fell trees for fast barges. 16 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 16 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 24 Saturday, Yipungsi the Jubraj returned from felling trees for the fast barges. 29 Thursday, Haopam Cha Balananda the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*), who was on his way to the river Ganges, became ill, and returned from Moirang. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 11 Tuesday, Yipungo Kirtichantra the *Hanchapa* of eunuchs left for Mayang. 16 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 22 Friday, Yipi from the Lairikyengpam family gave birth to a princess. The following Tuesday two *sanyasis* and one Ratha Panhoppi,⁶ these three, arrived from the area of Moirang. One of them was dumb.

- 1 Scribal correction in the Ms. Text, Yinga to Kalen.
- 2 *Purengpusung*: after Purengpusung, there is a letter *ng* between two vertical lines. Scribal error.
- 3 *Lai Gobindaji*: refers to the new Hindu image which was recently deified. Both terms, *lai* for divinity and *ji* Sanskrit, are used in the process of indigenisation of this new image.
- 4 *Makhut kakye*: *Makhut*, hand, *kakye* past tense of *kakpa* to cut off. No plural form; could have been just one hand or both hands.
- 5 *Heipong*: literally fruit of Pong. Probably was introduced from Pong. Wild fig tree which bears edible, round figs in clusters.
- 6 *Ratha Panhoppi*: a female termed as Ratha for Radha to indicate gender. Probably a female mendicant in the company of the two *sanyasis*. Not clear as to which sect they belonged.

Sakabda 1703 (1781 CE)

The year of Waikhong Lamkham, Sakabda 1703 (1781 CE). 13 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. 22 Sunday, they began to build the main royal palace for Ningthem. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, there was a fierce gale and the royal palace for Ningthem in the Kangla complex and many houses in the whole country were broken. Many trees and bamboos were also destroyed. 20 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 25 Friday, a *sanyasi* named Gobindajag arrived from Takhen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 18 Saturday, Yipungo Nandalala died. 21 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 26 Sunday, the royal son of Yipungo Aananda Sai the *Lakpa* of Khwai died. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 23 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 28 Thursday, Yipungo Kritichantra who visited Mayang, returned. 29 Friday, Ningthem went down to Lammantong. Ningthem returned on Saturday, the new moon. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 25 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 26 Wednesday, Chingngakham

maiden Leimakhupi died. 28 Friday, Haopam Cha Ramananda the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 12 Thursday, Syampurna the senior *Kapo Phourunghanpa*¹ died. 26 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 7 Monday, the four *Panas* left for Koubru to fell trees. 12 Saturday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for Nungkei to hunt tigers. They caught one tiger and it was presented (to the king). 13 Sunday, Yipi the Aakham maiden gave birth to a princess. 28 Monday, Yipungo Krishnachandra returned from felling trees at Koubru. 20 Tuesday, Yipungo the Jubraj left for Chaumkei to hunt tigers. He caught four tigers. 27 Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of the month of Mera.² The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, Ningthem, along with Sija (his queen), left for Lamangtong to inaugurate (a building). 6 Wednesday, Ningthem returned. 7 Thursday, princess Jatswari had the *Chakwumpa*³ rite. 28 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, a pond was dedicated. 6 Friday, Yipungo Aanandasai the *Lakpa* of Khwai left for Heirok to confer⁴ with the Marings. 7 Saturday, they began to dredge the course of the river beginning from Mangsamkei up to the place called Khajingkhong canal (where shrimps were found). 22 Sunday, the Haos from Wokphrun came and bowed before the Maharaja. They were invited to a polo match. 28 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 5, the day of *Panchami*⁵ all those who had discarded the sacred thread including Bindaram from Wangkhei, were made to take the sacred thread at a ceremony held at a pond. 26 Friday, Kanaram from Moirang was deported to *Loi* at Yithai. When three soldiers from Tengkhon who were found drinking *yu* were about to be punished by being shot with arrows, they were pardoned.⁶ 28 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. On that day Ningthem went down to Lamangtong. A monk dressed in a tiger's skin who did not eat rice also arrived with the *Senlungpa* of the *Mayang Leimanai*, (servants of the queen). 2 Thursday, twenty-eight people along with the *Lakpa* of Chaktong arrived and they were received at court at Lamangtong. 3 Friday, Ningthem returned. 10 Friday, Yipungo Aananda Sai the *Lakpa* of Khwai left to dredge the canal at Ningen. 13 Tuesday, they put in the wooden culvert at Heipok. 27 Monday, the *Mantri* returned from dredging the canal. 29 Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. On that day the monk who was clad in tiger's skin died of cholera at Yairipok on his way to Aawa. 3 Friday, Yipungsi the Jubraj's wife the Sansenpam maiden bore him a prince.

- 1 *Kapo Phourunghanpa*: the senior official in charge of collection and distribution of the paddy products in Kapo. Kapo here refers to the land area within the Manipur boundary, or the person probably was of Kapo origin.
- 2 *Mera* is overwritten on *Hiyangkei* in the Ms. text.
- 3 *Chkumye* from *Chakwumye*, past tense of *chakwumpa*: from *chak*, cooked rice, *wumpa*, to have it in the mouth. The rite of giving the baby its first solid food. Term used for the first time.
- 4 *Haipa* for *hainapa* to negotiate, to confer.

Note: The approach has changed from fighting to that of negotiation to solve probable problems.

- 5 *Panchami*: a Bengali term for fifth. The fifth month in the year according to the Bengali calendar. Term used for the first time.
- 6 Drinking would have meant discarding the Hindu dietary rules.

Sakabda 1704 (1782 CE)

The year of Taimacham Tangkhu, Sakabda 1704 (1782 CE). Friday, the first day of the lunar month which was the following day after the new moon, was also the new *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 5 Thursday, they began to build two great palaces and two boat houses, these four buildings. 11 Wednesday, Ningthem went down to Yumnam. On the following day, Thursday, all the official attire for Ningthem including the canopy, the palanquins and weapons¹ were brought up. 14 Friday, Gurbityalangka's² mother scattered round *sen* at the market place. 16 Sunday, Yipungo Krishnachandra left for Suknu to fell trees. 17 Monday, they built *Salangmei*. New moon Sunday, the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 14 Sunday, Sarotkhaipa Narayan was deported to *Loi* at Hangkun. The month of **Yingen**³ (June/July) began on Wednesday. That day was also the *Sangkranti*.⁴ 4 Saturday, Thakur of Laimayum family died. He lived for ninety years. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. Yinga was an intercalary month. 4 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 5 Monday, Ningthem, along with Sija and most of the people of the land dressed in clothes with block prints, feasted on fruit. They also played *Leipaan*.⁵ The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Thawan. On that day there was a boat race amongst all the people in the country in which each of the family groups participated according to their family names. 13 Wednesday, two men from Bamon Gurumayum family were deported to *Loi* to Moirang for beating a monk. 19 Tuesday, the Luhup Wuppa Haos and those from Kharam were made to have a boat race. Those from Kharam won the race. 22 Friday, they left for Koubru to fell trees for fast barges. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 7 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 10 Monday, the pond at Langthapan was dug. 13 Thursday, Yipungsi Krishnachandra left for Koubru to fell trees. 15 Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse. 25 Wednesday, four men and three women fled from Samshok. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 3 Wednesday, the people of Phumlou caught a tiger and it was presented (to the king). 7 Sunday, an iron cannon was cast. 9 Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Mera. Full moon Monday, Yipungsi the *Mantri*, Yipungo Kritichantra, Lairikyengpa the *Hanjapa* and Tulasi Narayan, these three completed the compilation of the biography of Meetengu Mayang Ngampa, the conqueror of the Mayangs.⁶ 28 Sunday, Yipungsi the Jubraj's daughter born of the Sansenpam maiden died. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 10 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* left for Heirok to negotiate with the Kapos. 9 Friday was the

Sangkranti of Poinu. 25 Sunday, the four *Panas* left for Koubru to fell trees. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 9 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 13 Thursday, they inaugurated the pond at Langthapan. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 9 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 19 Friday, Meetengu Chingthangkhopma left for Maha foothills at the main village of *Kakching khunlen* to clear the area.⁷ The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. On that day Ningthem returned. 9 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Ngairangpa Kanuram the *Keirungpa* died. 4 Saturday, Yipi Khombiswa died. 5 Monday was a very windy day. Many trees and bamboos were destroyed.

- 1 *Khulai*: for *khutlai*. Probably ceremonial weapon or sword.
- 2 *Gurbityalangpa*: probably a scribal error for guru Bityalangka.
- 3 Month of Yingen is entered before Yinga. The second Yingen is probably an intercalary month.
- 4 Not indicated for which month this *Sangkranti* was.
- 5 *Leipaan saneiye*: Meaning obscure.
- 6 *Mayang Ngampa*: Conqueror of the Mayangs. Mayampa, also known as Garibniwaz, is designated the title 'Mayang Ngampa' after his abdication in Sakabda 1670. Garibniwaz's last days before his assassination were very chaotic with internal revolution because of his religious programme.
- 7 *Lamhaipa*: either to clear the area or to discuss on the area.

Sakabda 1705 (1783 CE)

The year of Wahengpa Woklapa, Sakabda 1705 (1783 CE). 9 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 9 Sunday, the building of the main royal palace for Ningthem and the three-tiered building for the *lai* at Kangla were begun. 10 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 14 Thursday Wangkhebi Natra died. Full moon Friday, Karam the *Keirungpa* died. 21 Thursday, the emissaries from Takhen arrived. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. There was an earthquake on that day. 10 Tuesday, two Vaishnabs who kept caste arrived. 12 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 13 Friday, the house for the *lai* and the palace were both completed in forty-one days. 24 Monday, the Mayang emissaries arrived. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 3 Thursday, the Takhen emissaries were received at court. 8 Monday, (more) Mayang emissaries arrived. Full moon Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 18 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 25 Friday, Muku the *Luplakpa* of the *Mayang Leimanai* (the servants of the queen), was escorted (to his post). The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for the area of Mayang Leimanai to hunt tigers. He caught one tiger. One Mayang woman was bitten by a tiger. 20 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 10 Sunday, (the villages of) Haochong

and Ngaprum contested over seniority (and the case was brought up before the king). In the period of Meeteingu Kongyampa [Sakabda 1246–1257(1324–1335 CE)] Khumanlampam Khompa and Khonnoupa who were the descendants of Naothingkhong (Meetei King) were made to establish villages at the Yingen mountain and the villages were made to take over the tasks which were formally done by the Mayangs. After that, they were made to migrate by the foothills of Yireng mountain. After that, they established themselves in villages at Haochong and that area was named Haochongpan. The Ngapnums (villages) claimed that they were senior to those (at Haochong). The controversy was brought before (the king) in the reign of Jai Singh Maharaj.¹ When the (officials) then consulted the written royal records, they discovered that Ngaprum villages were established in the reign of Meetengu Khakempa [Sakabda 1519–1574 (1597–1652 CE)]. At that time the royal verdict was declared that Haochong was the senior of these two settlements. The earlier royal verdict was made known to (both the parties). During the reign of Ningthem Yipungo Garibniwaz, [Mayampa sakabda 1519–1574 (1597–1652 CE)] Lairikyengpa the *Hanchapa* and Noutam Cha Sibadas Tamutor, these two brothers dug a pond at Lamlongkei. The pool was inaugurated in the presence of Santidas, Mahapuris, Ningthem, Sicha, the nobles and the brave men of the land; and it was named *Patda Sagar*.² After this (period) when the pool had been filled up, it was ploughed and used as a paddy field. After fifty-four years, in the days of Ningthem Yipungo Vagyachantra,³ at the suggestion of Chanamthapam Cha Lairikyengpa the *Hanchaa*, Shri Tulasi Naran, Naotam Cha Boloram the *Hitang*, Yumkhaipam Cha Prasuram the *Hitang*, Yumlenpam Aanandaram and Tanyeipam Mukuntram, these five men made a request concerning the pool (to dig it again) to Yipungsi Aanantasai the *Nongthonpa* who was the son of Haripraya the daughter of Lairikyengpa Damutor. (At their request) Yipungsi himself went down; and Puren Longcham Cha Malati the *Lakpa* of Keiroi collected all the seven clans of Keiroi and (Yipungsi) summoned all the soldiers from the *Phungkanai*, who were the servants of the king, along with the army (to dig it again). 20 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Thursday, they began to dig (the pond again). 20 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 27 Friday, the Haos who lived in Tangkham were killed by the Haos from Wokphrun. Five (Wokphrun) Haos were captured and detained. 28 Saturday, Yipungsi the *Patchahanpa*⁴ was deported to *Loi* at Khorikhun village. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday, Yipungsi Aanatasai the *Nongthonpa* began to inaugurate the pool.⁵ On that day all the *lais* of the land including Shri Govindaji and *Snamahi* were immersed in the pond.⁶ Ningthem, Sija and all the royal ladies, the Ramanti monks along with the Bamons, most of the noble and the brave were made to go down into the pool and immerse themselves in it. Ningthem and Sija sang and danced.⁷ Ningthem was presented with gold, silver and clothes. The Maharani was presented with gold, silver and an imported printed cloth.⁸ (Aanata Sai the *Nongthonpa* also) hosted several feasts; 7 Sunday, for Yipungsi the Jubraj and most of the Bamons including all those Vaishnaps who kept caste. 8 Monday,

for the officials in the Naicha (*Pana*) and those who were the heads of various Institutes and Institute buildings. 9 Tuesday, for all the *Phamthous*, who wore gold as a designation of their official position, a feast was given with rice, and for all those who belonged to the Khurai and Wangkhei male *Palas*⁹ a feast with flattened rice¹⁰ were given. 10 Wednesday, for Yaiskun and Wangkhei *Palas*¹¹ a feast was given with flattened rice. For the Takhel and Mayang emissaries, a feast with meat and *yu* was given.¹² To all those who were passers-by on the highways and byways, without any discrimination, he offered *tan*, molasses and milk. 12 Friday, he also hosted a feast with rice for all the four *Panas*, all the *Leimanai* the queen's servants, the four *Sangkhu**pas*, and the *Sangkoipas*, the *Hanjapas* and the *Hitangs*. He also hosted a feast with rice for all the people of Lairikyengpa extended family. Wearing the *chama* cloth, the Bhagapot (Bhagavad) was sung. All those who were passersby on the roads were offered *tan*. All those who were travelling to the forests were offered flattened rice and milk. 13 Saturday, all those who minted the *sen* were given a feast with rice. 14 Saturday, all the Yipis went to Kontha and picnicked on rice cooked in a bamboo joint.¹³ Full moon Monday, they (Yipis) came from the palace in Kanchipur to Kekrupan and feasted on flattened rice. 16 Tuesday, Yipi Yangambi was deported to *Loi*. 22 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 24 Monday, the royal son the Jubraj was deported to *Loi*.¹⁴ The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, the Maharaj left for Kaina to look for a jack fruit tree. 17 Friday, the emissaries from Takhen left. 20 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, a star with a tail (comet)¹⁵ was seen at the western sky. Full moon Friday, Salam Gourang was deported to *Loi* at Thangka. 19 Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen. On that day a thunder bolt fell¹⁶ on the *Wayensang* (the Supreme Court) building. 21 Thursday, Khumukcham the *Keirungpa* died. 25 Monday, Yipungo Aarampa the *Hajari*, Nongmaithempa the *Keirungpa*, and the *Hanchapa* of the Leimanai security guards, these three and others left to dig a salt well at Waikhong. 27 Wednesday, the chief of the village of Huntung came to pay homage to Ningthem. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 13 Monday, Yipungos Chourajit and Tulasi, these two (royal) brothers had their ears pierced. 14 Saturday, Yipungo Tekhao Khompa left for Kanya to fell a jack fruit tree. On that day all those who left to dig the salt well at Waikhong, returned. 16 Monday, the Chothe Haos came to pay homage to Ningthem. 17 Tuesday, as the message alerting of a raid by the Wokphrun Haos had reached (the palace), Yipungsi the Jubraj set out in the night and marched up to Waichei to repel the Wokphrun raiders. They also blocked (the river) Yirin at Sekta. 19 Thursday, (Yipungsi) returned. That day was the first *Sangkranti* of Lamta. Yipungsi Aanandasai the *Nongthonpa* and all the inhabitants of the land left for Yitam mountain to dam up the Yirin river (at its source).¹⁷ 21 Saturday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for the Khoupum Haos to establish a settlement in the Hapham area. 26 Wednesday, Yipi the Aakhm maiden gave birth to a princess. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 17 Wednesday, those who went to collect the subjugated Haos including Nga the headman from Satang returned after having gathered two hundred fifty-

four of them. Ningthem gave them many spades, multipurpose big knives and clothes. They were settled at the top of Nongsakam mountain. 9 Friday, Yipungsi the *Nongthonpa* returned after blocking the course of the Yirin river (and diverting it at its source).¹⁸

- 1 Evidence of later editing.
- 2 *Patda Sagar*: *Pat*: Manipuri term for lake, *da*: for sound, *sagar*: Bengali term for sea. Attempt to Bengalise. This pool now is known as *Mantri Pukhri* after Aananta Sai, the Mantri.
- 3 *Vagyachantra*: or *Vagyachandra*. Another Sanskrit name for Chingthangkhopma. He is also known as *Jai Singh*.
- 4 *Patchahampa*: Senior Post in charge of lakes. Term used for the first time.
- 5 *Yipungsi Aanata Sai* the *Nongthonpa*: Aanata Sai was one of the sons of Mayampa alias Garibniwaz. *Nongthonpa* is the title for prime minister or *Mantri*. To this day the descendants of this Mantri perform a religious festival every year but on a smaller scale to commemorate this inauguration.
- 6 Immersing the divinities, both Meetei and Hindu in the pond, was perhaps to sanctify the pond for the people to bathe according to the Hindu practice of ritual bathing in sacred waters.
- 7 The king and the queen dancing in the presence of the divinities including the Hindu *lais* is an extension of the dance by the *Lai selungba* and his wife (who look after the *Lai's* shrine) at the *Meetei Lai Haraoba* festival. This obviously was the promotion of the new religion based on the old tradition and was the forerunner of the present Manipuri *Ras Lila* which is a Hindu religious dance depicting the playfulness of Krishna, the Hindu god, with many young maidens both married and unmarried.
- 8 *Sapa koupa*: named *Sapa*: printed cloth, from *Schap*: Bengali for print. Probably block prints with sectarian religious messages.
- 9 *Pala*: Term used for male and female choirs. Normally in the Meetei Lai Haraoba festival the *Pena* player with his *pena* leads the antiphonal singing which is responded by a smaller choir and the congregation. Term used for the first time with reference to a full choir.
- 10 *Chengpak*: parboiled, pressed rice. Normally it is soaked and then mixed with milk, molasses and cream. This preparation, known as *phola*, is often offered to the Hindu gods and is also used in feasts and public religious gatherings.
- 11 *Wangkhei pala*: or Wangkhei Choir. This has already been mentioned. Probably a scribal error for the *Khwai Pala* as the town was divided into four *Panas* of which Khwai was one.
- 12 Probably the Mayangs and the Tripuris were not yet Hinduised. If they had been then they were not strict vegetarians or they could have belonged to another sect of Hinduism. But since drinking is not allowed in any sect of Hinduism, it is quite likely that they were not completely Hinduised.
- 13 *Wutong chak*: *Wutong*: a section of a bamboo joint, *chak*: cooked rice. Rice cooked in a bamboo joint. The rice grain is put with water in a section of bamboo and it is stood upright, and fire is made round it till it is almost burnt. Then the bamboo skin is peeled off and the rice is taken out and eaten. This method is used often by travellers since they do not have to carry pots and wild bamboo grows in great abundance.
- 14 *Macha Yipungo Jubraj* was deported to *Loi*: The reference is not to the Jubraj in office who is referred as *Yipungsi Jubraj*, but one of the sons of Chingthangkhopma, born of his queen the Yangngabam Maiden, probably the heir apparent, though this

same prince died of smallpox later. The title Jubraj is either anacronism or a scribal error.

- 15 *Thawanpichak mamei naipa*: for *Thawanmichak*: star. Literally small star with a tail, a comet.
- 16 *Nongmei singjang*: literally 'the axe with thundering gun shot'. Lightning struck.
- 17 *Yirin chingchin*: literally 'the mouth of Yirin (river) at the mountain' the source of Yirin river in the mountain.
- 18 *Thingba*: to stop, to block up. This refers to making a dam in order to divert the flow of the waters.

Sakabda 1706 (1784 CE)

The year of Sangaiprou Lai, Sakabda 1706 (1784 CE). 20 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 7 Monday, as it was reported that the Aawas had marched to battle, Khumanthem Cha Chakrabani the *Pukhranpa* and the people of the four *Panas* marched to battle up to Heirok. They did not find the Aawa but found that they had burnt down the area of Khari of Kapo.¹ It was reported that the enemy had retreated after having collected cattle and buffaloes. 16 Thursday, the dam across the Yirin river burst open. 17 Friday, a Ramananti monk arrived from Mayang. 21 Monday, Yipungsi the Jubraj returned from battle. 22 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 27 Sunday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for Soisa Kameng to repel Wokphrun who had marched to attack. They negotiated and agreed to be on good terms and thus the matter was settled. On that day one Bamon named Govinda who was the keeper of a (Hindu) *lai* had a child born to him which had more than one head. The child died right away. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. Full moon Thursday, Churamani the *Senlungba* from Yiroipa² died. 24 Saturday there was a great flood and many houses and granaries were under water. Paddy crops also were destroyed. There was no market either. The river burst open opposite the Haobammarak area. One person died. There was also a fierce gale. On the new moon Thursday, Ningthem, Sija and others gathered together and a market was held on a hilltop. A large number of landslides occurred all over the land including the hill areas. 10 Monday, a python was seen at the Snahal Lokchao gorge.³ 21 Thursday, Khangphampa from Kapo was deported to *Loi* to Thangka. 22 Friday, Khorikhun village⁴ caught a tiger and it was presented (to the king). 26 Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 27 Wednesday, Laitonjam Makokchaopa died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. Soraisam who practiced sorcery was deported to *Loi*. 10 Tuesday, one of the sons of Petwa who was from the group of *Mayang Ningthounai*, the king's servants, and his wife died together. On that day, Chirom Damudar who brought twenty-seven Haos from Langnung, arrived. 18 Wednesday, Yipungo Aarampa Kratichantra the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) died. 29 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. On that day Ningthem left for Leisangkhang to feast on fruit. 5 Saturday, Aapat the *Lakpa* of *Lairen Main Institute*⁵ died. 15 Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. 19 Friday,

Senchapa⁶ Gangkaram the *Keirungpa* died. New moon Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, Yirom Gangkaram the *Lairen Lakpa*⁷ died. 26 Sunday the Khongchai Haos were received at court. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 24 Saturday, the Mayang emissary returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 22 Saturday, as the Konchengpam monk from Moirang took a woman from south Sengwai to wife, he was made to remain at Sengwai as a servant of Sengwai. 25 Tuesday, Hongnem Sumpam of Hangkun was incorporated to Laipham *Pana*.⁸ 27 Thursday, the Naharup and Aahanlup (*Panas*) played a polo match and Naharup won. Kirton from the Aahanlup (*Pana*) was made to make a whip⁹ in front of Govindaji in the presence of the Naharup (*Pana*) (after loosing the match). The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began Monday. 16 Sunday, two monks from Mayang arrived. 22 Monday, Chingngakhampa Premali the *Lakpa* of Naharup (*Pana*) and others completed the banking up of the river's banks and the banks of most of the paddy fields which burst when the water overflowed, starting from Naka up to the Linlong. 25 Thursday, Yipungsi Banananda the Jubraj himself went and caught a tiger at Chinga. 26 Friday, Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Nongthonpa* left for Yairipok to establish Langnungkhun village. Tuesday, new moon, was the first *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Saturday, the Maharaj and others left to inspect the land. 12 Saturday, Loitam Tangkhompa was deported to *Loi* to Thangka with his wife and children. Full moon, Tuesday, Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Nongthonpa* returned after having established Langnungkhun village. 16 Wednesday, the whole land without excluding any who are the subjects and servants of the king,¹⁰ began to dig a river called Chantranati starting from Chawumkei up to Lamangtong, under the direction of all the *Lakpas* of the Institutes and Institute buildings of the four *Panas*. It was completed in two months. As the Naharup (*Pana*) was the first to complete their allotted portion they were rewarded with a mare. New moon Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. Friday was an intercalary day. Yipungsi the Jubraj left for Leisangkhong to hunt tigers. He caught one tiger and it was presented (to the king). Two (immigrants) from Khetra were attacked and one of them died. 3 Saturday, as Yipi of Sansenpam (family) was found to have given Aoipa to be adopted by both Laikangpam Raschantra and his son, Yipi Sansenpi was deported to *Loi* to Moirang. The two Laikangpams were deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Yipi's parental family the Sansenpams were fined. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. On that day the emissary from Takhen was received at court. 2 Saturday, the Haos from Wokphrun were also received at court. Ningthem presented them with many clothes, spades and all-purpose big knives, salt and a large amount of fruit. 4 Monday, Wahengpam maiden Thakurani¹¹ the wife of Aanubananda, the grandson of guru, died.

1 *Kapo Khari*: Place name. Since the period of Khakempa, Khari of Kapo was in the boundary of Manipur. It is unlikely that the Aawas would have burnt down their own

- villages. But the place name Kapo Khari still was retained as a distinguishing mark to indicate the inhabitants as well the location of the area.
- 2 *Yiroipa*: Place name. Probably an archaic form of present day Yiroisenpa.
 - 3 *Snahal Lokchao*: the water from this ravine was utilised for the first time for electric power as well as potable water after the British occupation of Manipur in 1891 CE.
 - 4 *Khori Khun*: Khori village which is regarded as a Loi village. Khori could be a corrupt form of Khari where some people from Khari settled. This place is also well known for sericulture which originated in the east. It also could refer to a village where copper was smelt, *Khori* for *kori* copper.
 - 5 *Lairen Sanglen*: The main Institute of *Lairen*, which deals with the worship of *Lairen*, python, the manifestation of the ancestral deity of the Ningthouja clan to which the Meetei kings belonged.
 - 6 *Senchapa*: literally one who eats *sen* currency, one who accepts bribes. Probably a scribal error for *sensapa*: one who works in the royal mint. Modern usage of the term means accepting bribes.
 - 7 *Lairenlakpa*: a post within the Lairen Institute. This term later also came to be used as a family name for the descendants of such *Lakpas*.
 - 8 *Hangkunki Hongnem Sumpampu*: Hongnem Sumpam of Hangkun: Sentence is obscure. But if this is the name of an area since many new areas became inhabited, this area was incorporated into existing *panas*. Or if it is a family name, then this family was received in that *Pana*.
 - 9 *Wasa sai*: literally made the whip, or chewed the whip, *was* a small branch of bamboo also used as a whip, *sai* to make or to chew. A very ambiguous phrase but may imply that the losing team in the tournament deserved a whip. This may have been a reprimand and a challenge to all the players to keep up the standard of any tournament. If the parties were of the same stature, then it could have been a draw.
 - 10 *Sn nai*: from *masan manai*: *masan*: his cattle which is owned and *manai*: his servants. The people who are his subjects and servants. The position of the king is beginning to be expressed more in terms of a feudal lord.
 - 11 *Thakurani*: wife of a Thakur. Term used to indicate a Brahmin's status. But she was of Meetei origin.

Sakabda 1707 (1785 CE)

The year of Lairikyengpa Muniram, Sakabda 1707 (1785 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 3 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. 10 Tuesday, Ningthem went down to Lammangtong. 22 Sunday, the *Khunlakpa* of Chothe Haos was escorted on an elephant's back to his village. 24 Tuesday, the villages of south and north Sengwai contested for the position of seniority. It was declared that the south was senior to the north. On the new moon Sunday, a gun named *Khunchaopa* which was lost, was found in a river by those who went to look for fish. They brought it up and presented it (to the king). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, Yipi Chongtha died. 4 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 5 Friday, one tiger was caught at Kathong at Leimanai. 6 Saturday, the Haos of Huntung brought the *Khakempa* gun.¹ 12 Saturday those who were thieves were allowed to establish a village in Yithai. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday.

On that day Harichoron the *Sangkhu Hanjapa* died. 5 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yinga. On that day Yipi Khurai also died. 8 Thursday, Louremba Chantra the *Sakon Hanjapa* died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. 8 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yingen. On the new moon Friday there was a solar eclipse. As it was a cloudy day, the eclipse could not be seen. But it was taken that the eclipse did not take place and for that reason the astrologer was deported to *Loi* at Yiharai. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 9 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 25 Monday, Ningthem went down to Lammangtong. 29 Friday, Chongtha Matangopal the *Hajari* died. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 10 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 14 Saturday, Bamon Vagabati Thakur along with Yipungsi Chungphao the son of Yipungsi Aanada Sai the *Nongthonpa* and others, a total of forty people left for the Ganges. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. 8 Tuesday, Khoisna arrived from Mayang. They brought with them two sheep. 11 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 12 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. On that day those newcomers from Mayang including Pormananda arrived. One sonasi (*sanyasi*) and one *brahmachari* were amongst them. They said that there was a solar eclipse that day.² Full moon Wednesday, there was an earthquake. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 5 Tuesday, Gopicharan the *Hitang* of Wangkhei family who lived in Yumnam Aanoupa, died. 12 Tuesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. On that day the Maharaj marched to battle to Suknu. 2 Monday, Ningthem returned after hearing that his royal son the Jubraj was sick. 12 Wednesday was the first *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 13 Thursday, the royal prince the Jubraj died of smallpox. Many people in the land beyond number died of small pox. There was no end of smallpox for two whole years. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 12 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of the Phairen. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 13 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 27 Monday, Bamon Churamani Thakur of Laimayum was sent to Mayang to meet other Bamons. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. It was reckoned as the second day of the lunar month.

- 1 *Nongmei Khagempa*: Khagempa gun. Most likely a gun which was used at Khakempa's time and left in the hills.
- 2 *Graha*: term used for the Bengali term *grahan* or eclipse replacing Manipuri phrase *sana phangpa*: to be eaten by a beast. Term *grahan* has been used for the first time.

Sakabda 1708 (1786 CE)

The year of Pukhranpam Pangan, Sakabda 1708 (1786 CE). 13 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 13 Thursday, they began to build a storied¹ Institute building for Khapham (*Pana*). 14 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Kalen.

22 Saturday, Thakhur Rathanat arrived from Sousapaj. On that day Chirom Damudar the *Sangkhu Hanjapa* was deported to *Loi* to Suknu. 28 Thursday, they began to build the Institute building for Laipham (*Pana*). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, they began to build the Institute building for the Naharup (*Pana*). 7 Saturday, Kapo Cha Makham died. 11 Wednesday, they began to build the Institute building for the Aahanlup (*Pana*). 16 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yinga. On that day Yipungo Khapa arrived from Mayang. 19 Thursday, when the iron was smelted in Kakching and (tools were being made) a tool flew off the stone bench.² 28 Saturday, Yipungsi Aanadasai the Nongthonpa inaugurated the Institute building for the Khapham (*Pana*) which was decorated with bell metal. The Maharaj, the Maharani and most of the royal ladies were present at the inauguration ceremony. Gifts³ were offered to all the Bramahons and Beishnops (Brahmins and Vaishnabs). The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 3 Wednesday, Yipungsi Marjit had his ears pierced. 7 Sunday, the Institute building for the Laipham (*Pana*) was inaugurated and Ningthem was present. The Mayang emissary was received at court at this Institute building. 8 Tuesday, a tiger was caught at Kokchai. 9 Wednesday, the Institute building for the Aahanlup (*Pana*) was inaugurated. 10 Thursday, the Institute building for the Naharup (*Pana*) was inaugurated. 13 Sunday, rice and salt were distributed at Lamlong in the name of Yipungsi the Jubraj.⁴ 18 Friday was the first *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, the Mayang emissary left. 16 Thursday Lairikyengpa the *Hanjapa*, the *Hitang* and Khetri the *Hanjapa*, these three were deported to *Loi*. 20 Monday was the first *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 27 Sunday, Sanglangmei (building) was set on fire. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 22 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 28 Wednesday, Lairemma Panthoibi disappeared.⁵ The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 24 Sunday was the first *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began Monday. 13 Saturday, Sija the Aakhm maiden⁶ married into the Loukrakpam family died. 16 Tuesday, Yipi Phuritsapi (of Phuritsapam family) gave birth to a prince. 24 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 11 Friday, Ningthem went down to *Kalaraj*.⁷ 23 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 27 Sunday, four *sanyasis* and one brahmachari arrived along with Jagatiswar Thakur. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. On that day a tiger was caught. 14 Wednesday, when the Chirom Pantit (Pundit) made a forecast that there would be an eclipse, but most of the other Pundits said that there would not be an eclipse and there was a fierce altercation. But the eclipse took place and Chirom Pantit was promoted to the post of the *Senlungpa* on meritorious ground. 21 Tuesday, the Maharaj made a public audience before all the people of the land and made an oath with the people that they should attack the Khonchais. 22 Wednesday, Yipungsi Aanada Sai the *Nongthonpa* left to escort Rathanath Thakur up to Mayang. 23 Thursday, they (the invading party including the king) halted at Lammangtong. 24 Friday, they spent the night at Chainapung. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. On that day they reached Leimatak. 2 Sunday, they reached the foothills

of Pungnaching mountain. They halted a day there. 27 Tuesday, they reached the army camp at Mabudhou. 28 Wednesday, they reached Nungsai. They halted there for a day. On the new moon Friday they reached the valley of Kuchu. On that day Khumanthempa the *Pukhranpa*, Soukaijam the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup (*Pana*), Thangchapa the *Keirungpa* and Thiya Chongkhanpa the *Hanjapa*, these four were sent to lead the battle. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. On that day Yipungsi the Senapati saved the day (on the battle field). He was made to lead the battle right away. 3 Monday, two people were captured alive (and were brought before the king). 5 Wednesday, they built a (temporary) royal residence at Kuchu.⁸ On the following day Thursday, the Kongchais were received at court. They presented a bell metal bossed gong with handles, ivory tusk and a bason (to the king). On that day the five heads (of those taken at the battle) also arrived. They established a weekly market. They also had a hockey match. When the Khongchais shot arrows at the shields of the Luhuppas, the arrows could not penetrate through the shields. But when the Luhuppa threw their spears at the shields of the Khongchais they penetrated the skin (of the shields). The Luhuppas swore that they would eat the flesh of the Khonchais. 11 Monday, they marched up to Tuikhat. There they halted for a day. The four leaders who led the battle and four *Hajaris*, to these eight people the Maharaj uttered blessings⁹ and these eight were sent as the vanguard for the battle. But Ningthem stayed on (at the camp) for another day. 13 Wednesday, the Maharaj arrived at Tuipui. Aangoupampa and Langmaithempa, these two stayed behind with the army. The army marched towards Nungkai. In the night Ningthem also set out at an auspicious hour. On Thursday, Ningthem also reached Nungkai. On that day the army camped in the foothills of the mountain where the Khongchais had settled. On the full moon Friday, Ningthem reached the foothills of the mountain where the Khongchais settled. In the night Ningthem sent envoys to the Khongchais. 16 Saturday, they cleared the road up to the area of Terapokpi. After the *Yachang Pung* hour (dusk) the smith of the Khongchais came and begged them not to march to the centre of the village. On that day the love gift from the Maharani and the water from the temple of Mahabali which were sent, reached the king. 17 Sunday, they scattered the Khongchais. Ningthem marched to Phunchong Yanlam and attacked them. Many prisoners were captured in the battle. Satpam Lupo the *Senlungpa* and Haopam Kumut the *Senlungpa*, these two were left to guard the army camp at Terapokpi. Ningthem returned right away. On Monday and Tuesday, on these two days, all the paddy from the Khongchais were carried away.¹⁰ 20 Wednesday, Ningthem marched through the centre of the Khongchai village and continued up to Tuyai Yirok. Satpam Rupo and Haopam Kumuta, these two *Senlungpas*, as was directed by Ningthem, marched from the camp at Phunchongyon and cleared the path up to the centre of the Khongchai village where Ningthem found them still clearing it. They continued to clear the path towards the south following the direction of Khongchai Haram. They (*Senlungpas*) collected from Khongchai Hapham one bowl, one iron tripod used for cooking and presented them to Ningthem while he was staying at Tuyai. 21 Thursday, (the army) felled trees for boats, one hundred of them. A basket parcel sent by the Maharani also arrived that

day. On that day most of the army returned from the centre of the village of the Khongchais and they also burnt the paddy. As Ningthem was (supervising the) felling of trees for the boats, news was brought to Ningthem by Kapo Tulasi, the *Phourunghanpa*, and Khoipam Nanda that the Khongchais were killing each other. Meetingu Chingthangkhopma also erected a stone pillar at Tuyai. On that day the Khongchai Heemang brought one servant and one plate and paid homage and tribute¹¹ to the king saying that they were the servants of both the king and his ancestors. 22 Friday, Meetingu Chingthangkhopma performed the spear dance in the centre of the Khongchai village and *Oukri* was also sung to indicate subjugation. A stone was also erected in the village. Then he returned to where the army encamped. 23 Saturday was the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen. A day later the guard of the army in Nungkai escorted in Simangnung and Phaitan, these two, before the king. They brought one bossed gong, two ivory tusks, one bowl, and the shields and other items which belonged to their ancestors, and they came before the presence of Ningthem with Lairikyengpa Tulasinarayan the *Hanjapa*, while the king was staying in Kentak, and they offered their gifts to Ningthem. 25 Monday, Hao Latyampa also came with a servant and a bowl made in Panpongkhutpi and offered them (to the king). The army returned on the following day. They spent the night at Khongnem. But the *Pana* army stayed behind in Nungtai. 27 Wednesday, Ningthem marched back up to the plains of Kusu. 29 Saturday, Haimang came once again and offered one *nati*,¹² one pair of silver spear heads and one plate (to the king). On that day the *Hanchapa* of palanquine bearers¹³ from the Tensupam family was sent to repair the road up to Kwai (river). They also erected a post. 2 Tuesday, Ningthem returned to the army camp at Nungsai. Chungsonpa Ron came and presented two bossed gongs, two ivory tusks to the king. 3 Wednesday, they returned at *Maputhou* army camp. 4 Thursday, they reached Leimatak. 5 Friday, they reached Lammatong. All the officials were received at a feast. 7 Phairen Saturday, Meetengu Chingthangkhopma returned after his attack on the Khongchais. 9 Monday, Khumanthempa the *Pukhranpa* and Thiyam Cha Chongkhanpa the *Hanchapa*, these two left to gather the Chirus¹⁴ who lived in the area of Moirang. 10 Tuesday, they returned after collecting the Chirus. 12 Thursday, the grandson of Thakur the guru left for Maku to establish a village for the Chirus. 23 Thursday was the first *Sangkranti* of Lamta. On that day they dredged the course of Chandranati. The month of *Lamta* (February/March) began on Tuesday. 9 Tuesday, people of Khari of Kapo arrived. 10 Wednesday, one *sanyasi* who did not eat rice and a Kasi, both of them, left for Mayang. 12 Friday, the smith of the Khongchais came and paid tribute (to the king). 17 Wednesday, Khari of Kapo returned. 18 Thursday, the king held court at the Khapham Institute building. 19 Friday, Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Nongthonpa* returned after escorting the Thakur. 23 Wednesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu.

1 *Kathok-karak haptuna*: Steps or ladder.

2 Meaning obscure.

3 *Dan Tharma* for Bengali *dan dharma*: gifts made as a meritorious act by the caste Hindus.

- 4 *Yipungsi Jubrajkitamak: kitamak*: on behalf of, on account of. This sentence could be read as an act being performed on behalf of either the living jubraj or the prince who had died recently.
- 5 Phrase is obscure. Either the *Meetei Lairemma Panthoibi* was destroyed or made ritually unclean.
- 6 *Sija Aakham chanu*: *Sija* princess. But here it means one 'born of a princess'. *Aakham chanu*, maiden born in the Aakham family. A daughter born to a *sija* was also titled *sija*, a princess. This designates a wider relationship than the current restricted sense of modern usage, which limits to children of the male lines only.
- 7 *Kalaraj*: literally black king. The chief of the Ningthoukhong area where the immigrant *Kalisas* also known as *Bishnupriyas* of the Mayang stock, who were dark in complexion, were settled.
- 8 *Kuchu*: The king's court in the Kangla Complex is also called Kuchu. It is very likely that this name was given after the temporary court which was built in the village of Kuchu where the king received the Khongchais, in honour of this expedition and the settlement with the Khongchais. It was also the normal custom to build suitable residence to receive subjects while inspecting the various areas within the kingdom.
- 9 *Samangtrai*: Probably a corrupt form of *Samantrak*, Bengali for sacred verses. Before the vanguard left the king recited sacred verses.
- 10 *Huntheiye*: past tense of *hunthaba*, to throw away or to be carried away from either a height or from the field to one's house.
- 11 *Roi* for *loi*: tribute payment.
- 12 *Nati*: obscure.
- 13 *Tulairoi Hanchapa*: in charge of palanquin bearers. Later this post became designated for one of the reigning king's brothers. The post is mentioned for the first time.
- 14 *Chirus*: another ethnic group.

Sakabda 1709 (1787 CE) Chandrabda 999¹

The year of Aakoijam Khongchompa, Sakabda 1709 (1787 CE). Chandrabda 999. 25 Friday, the Mayang emissary Ratharam arrived. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) ended on Wednesday. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Tuesday, the Mayang emissary was received at court. On that day Maipam the *Keirungpa* was deported to *Loi* at Soisa Kameng. As the son of Thinggra Niranjon was found practicing black magic, his father was deported to *Loi* at Sekmai. The Aahanlup (*Pana*) left to attack the Khongchais. The tribute payments were collected from them. 9 Thursday, Khongchai Heemang and Maratheng arrived. Full moon Wednesday, Yipungsi the *Senapati* went to Yairipok and caught two tigers. 17 Friday, as a fruit tree named *potphal*² which was brought in from outside the country and which was planted by the Maharaj had yielded fruit, the fruits were distributed to all the noblemen of the country. 21 Tuesday, the *Lakpa* of Aoktong (Oktong) arrived. 25 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began.³ 27 Monday, (emissary from) Khaki was received in court. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. On that day Kangla was redecorated. 23 Sekmus (from Kapo) also arrived. 3 Sunday, the Maharani from the Chingngakham family was demoted. 12 Monday, a tiger

was caught at Khamran. Thiyam the *Hajari* was injured by the tiger. 13 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 19 Tuesday, Sekmu from Kapo left. 26 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday, Thiya the *Hajari* died. 7 Friday, Maharani Aakha ascended the throne. 29 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. On that day the mother-in-law of the guru died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, Ngangpam Tebram the *Hanchapa* of the security guards (of the royal belongings) died. 10 Tuesday, Mayang Ratharam went back. 17 Wednesday, a servant of a Bamon who fled to Aawa was captured and then was killed.⁴ And the month of Yingen was an intercalary month. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began Tuesday. 2 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 4 Friday, an emissary from Takhen arrived. 8 Tuesday, the Takhen (emissary) was received in court. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, both the Khapham and Laipham (*Panas*) had a boat race. Laipham won the race. 4 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. On that day the Naharup and Aahanlup (*Panas*) had a boat race. The Naharup won the race. 24 Friday, Maipa Hangnaipa was deported to *Loi* at Suknu as it was said that he had used sorcery. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. On that day Satrukhan from Kapo who was a Maipa, second in position, was also deported to *Loi* at Suknu as it was said that he also had practiced sorcery. 4 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began.⁵ 10 Sunday, Yipungsi the Senapati left for Yiharai to hunt elephants. 19 Tuesday, Pramananda the male voice choir-master left with the emissaries from Mayang. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 4 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 13 Sunday Baji Bhagaban died. 28 Friday, Pangngan Sachoupa of Moiching was deported to Wangu as it was said that he was a Hao.⁶ The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. On that day the Maharaj went to Koubru to hunt elephants. 5 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. Saturday, the following day, the Takhen emissaries arrived. 7 Monday, Yipungsi Mathuchantra whose mother was Yipi, the Ngangpam maiden, arrived from Aawa. 9 Wednesday, the royal son Mathuchantra and the Maharaj met at Naosekpalok gorge. Full moon Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. On that day five elephants were caught at Laisangkon. 16 Tuesday, Maharaj returned from his elephant hunt. 19 Friday, Haopam Kratibasi died as he was injured by an elephant (while hunting). 25 Thursday three male elephants arrived at Kanchipur. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 7 Tuesday, Thakur Bhagabati who made a trip to the Ganges returned. On the full moon Wednesday the temple made of bricks which belonged to Yipungsi Aananda Sai the *Nongthonpa* was inaugurated. He also gave large amounts of fees⁷ and other gifts (to the officiating Bamon). 25 Friday, Langnong was received at court. 27 Sunday, the *Lakpas* of Aoktong and Tumu arrived. Yingo the *Lakpa* of Naharup (*Pana*) and others left for Naosekpalok gorge to hunt elephants. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, both Khongchai Heimang and Khongchai Oktong were received at court. 3 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 9 Saturday, both the Maharaj and the Maharani left to inspect the elephants. They caught eighteen

elephants. One of the elephants had only one tusk. 13 Tuesday, they returned. 15 Thursday, one male elephant was presented to Yipunsi Aananda Sai the *Nongthonpa*. 18 Sunday, Aoktong left for Tumu. 19 Monday, six elephants arrived. 21 Wednesday, another six elephants arrived. 27 Tuesday a male elephant was given to Thakur the grandson of Guru. 28 Wednesday, a brother was born to Yipungsi Khongchaingampa. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 4 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 15 Saturday, Yingngo Haopam Prasutom returned with four Bengali mendicants.⁸ 18 Monday, Ningthem and Sija went down to Lammangtong. 19 Tuesday, a tiger was caught at the Serakhunlok ravine. 23 Sunday, Ningthem and Sija returned from Lammangtong. 27 Thursday, there was a hockey match between the people of Kangngamung and Heikrujam. Heikrujam won the match. The women also contested in a race. Women of Kangngamung won the race.

- 1 *Chandrabda*: this was a newly created Manipuri era. See Introduction to Vol. 1 for further explanation.
- 2 *Potphal*: may be a scribal variant for *chorphal*, big, green olive which now grows in the land. *Phal*: Bengali for fruit.
- 3 Change in style in the reckoning of *Sangkranti*.
- 4 It appears an attempt was made to introduce slavery by the immigrant Bamons. The killing of a servant who tried to run to freedom has been mentioned for the first time.
- 5 First day of *Mera* is missing.
- 6 Ethnic discrimination is implemented.
- 7 *Tan dakhina*: *tan/dan* gifts by caste Hindus, *dakhina*: from Bengali *daksina*: donation, gifts, fees made to the officiating priest.
- 8 *Beiragra* for *Beiragi*: Bengali for mendicants.

Sakabda 1710 (1788 CE)

The year of Waikhom Naosek, Sakabda 1710 (1788 CE). 4 Thursday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 5 Friday, they began to establish a granary at Khoyakhun village. 11 Wednesday, the people of Heikrujam and Kangngamong (villages) were made to play a hockey match in the presence of Ningthem. Heikrujam won the match. There was also a race amongst the women. Leihou of Kangngamong (Kangngamung) won the race. 12 Thursday, the (king) left for Aawa to repel the enemies. 23 Monday, a man of the Loitongpam family was deported to Yithai as he was found to have had marital relations with his elder brother's wife. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 6 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. On that day Sija Khuraileima was deported to (*Loi to*) Woinu. 10 Thursday, Sija Tharak the daughter of Yipi Lairikyengpi was married to the Aangom family. 23 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Khamran. Two persons were injured. New moon Wednesday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. On that day the eunuch who was also the *Hitang* of the barbers died. 9 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 15 Wednesday, Yipungsi Khuchung and

Sija Chandrabali, these two arrived. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 10 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 22 Friday, the Khongchais were received at court. 25 Monday, Ningthem's son, Yipungsi Romakanta born of Yipi Soraisu, arrived from Aawa. 29 Friday, Sanjiram the *Maipa* was deported to Yiharai. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 3 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 16 Sunday, Yipi Thangchapi died. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 14 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 25 Thursday, all the four *Panas* left for Yirin to fell trees. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, the *Senapati* of Takhen arrived. 8 Tuesday, Yipungsi Romakanta died. 9 Wednesday, all those from the four *Panas* who went to Yirin to fell trees returned. 11 Friday, Takhen (*Senapati*) was received at court. 14 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 16 Thursday, the *Senapati* of Takhen left. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, two Vaishnabs who kept caste arrived from Mayang. 7 Wednesday, Lairenjampa the *Lairenlakpa* died. 15 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. On that day the Moirangs caught a tiger from the *song* (enclosure)¹ and it was brought to the king. 5 Wednesday, the queen of Mayang (who was a Meetei princess) died. 15 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 22 Friday, the message of Mayang Leima's death was brought by the *Senlungpa* of Mayang. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 4 Wednesday, the emissary from Mayang arrived. 5 Thursday, Ningthem, Sija and most of the ladies of the royal household feasted on fruit (offered to) *Snamahi*. 6 Friday, the emissary from Mayang was received at court. 7 Saturday, all those who waited on the king from the four *Panas* who were found to be ignorant of the *Hindu Gaitri* (*Gayatri*)² were banned from joining with those who attended on the king. 15 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 16 Monday Jai Singh³ Maharaj left for Mayang to dig the grave of his royal aunt the Mayang Leima. 20 Friday, Yipungsi Patchahanpa, Yipungsi Kukila, these two were exiled to the land of the Mayangs as they were found using sorcery against the Maharaj. Sarong, the son of Ningthem born to the nursemaid of the Maharani,⁴ was deported to Thangka. 24 Tuesday, a prince was born to Yipungsi Mathuchadra's son by his wife Yipi Yenthrenpi. On that day five people from Aawa including Huirongpam Premluchon fled from Aawa. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 15 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. On that day Ningthem returned from Mayang. 2 Friday, sixty-four Tekhaos who had been hired to fight in the battle arrived. Eight monks also arrived. 3 Saturday, the Mayangs who were to escort Ningthem arrived. 9 Friday, they began to build the royal palace for Ningthem. 10 Saturday, three elephants which were the gifts from the king of Mayang arrived. On that day Thakur Vagabati also died⁵ at Bishnupur. 13 Monday, Chiruwa the *Hajari*, Ningthouchampa the *Hajari*, these two and others left to cut a track leading to Tekhao. 15 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 20 Monday, Ningthem dedicated an elephant to *Lai Snamahi*. 26 Sunday, while Meetingu was residing in Kanchipur it was decided in the presence of Shri Thakur the grandson of Guru and

the royal maternal uncle the Nongthonpa, these two, that all the rules and requirements of Hindu caste system [*Sutras*]⁶, which had been kept previously before the period of Maharaj Chingthangkhopma by the forefathers of the people and which had been carried out by their sons and brothers, were to resume as had been done previously. Each individual in the Panas was to work with the *Lakpa* of his Pana who was in charge, in pairs, carrying out what was expected of him. All these decisions were made known to Chanam Thapam Cha Lairikyengpa Tulasinarayan the *Hanjapa* and Yimkhaipam Cha Purnaram the *Hitang* and the royal decree was given to these two. The court decision was finalised by paying a court fee of one *tula* weight of gold⁷ to the Maharaj. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 9 Saturday, Yirom Kinggor left with forty Tekhaos.

- 1 *Song*: enclosure with one exit surrounded by trenches used for trapping animals.
- 2 *Gaitri* for *Gayatri* Vedic incantation.
- 3 The king has yet another name – Jai Singh. This name is recorded in the text for the first time.
- 4 *Maharani Mapi Sarong*; *ningthem macha Thangkata thaiye*. *Mapi*: wet-nurse. *Ningthem macha*: the king's child. Literally *Maharani Mapi Sarong*, (and) the king's child were sent to Thangka or deported to (*loi*) to Thangka. Verb sent does not have a plural form.
Variant reading: (i) Sarong was either the wet-nurse or the name of the king's child. (ii) But princes are always entered as either Yibungo or Yipungsi and not just as Ningthem's child. (iii) If both the wet-nurse and the child were sent, then probably it was either for some offence or safety, especially when the child was born of the Maharani. Wet-nursing both within and outside the royal household was a common practice.
- 5 *Lila woi*: same term used when Garibniwaz was assassinated. Perhaps here it is used for death.
- 6 *Sutra* (or *sudra*): Bengali for the Hindu sacred thread worn by the upper three castes of Hindus, rule or direction. Caste term *Sutra* is used in relation to any expectation from the subjects. As caste terms were not used previously in Manipur nor did any distinction between the people both of the hills and of the plain exist, this was the beginning of erasing the old social order by the king in order to make a further step in his Hinduising programme.
Variant reading: *sudra*: As letters *t* and *d* are interchangeably used in Meeteiron, the term can also be read as *sudra*. In this case it referred to the immigrants of the *sudra* caste. When Hinduism was enforced on the Manipuris, caste was not mentioned nor given. Term used for the first time.
- 7 *Tula*: scale of measurement for gold and silver. 1 *tula* = .3625 oz = 10.421 gr.

Sakabda 1711 (1789 CE)

The year of Waikhom Khoitong, Sakabda 1711 (1789 CE). 16 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began. 28 Thursday, a black tiger was caught at Kameng. 29 Friday, the Maharaj left to repel the Aawas. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on a Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Ningthem returned. 7 Saturday, Gurumayum Thakur was sent to Tekhao by the Maharaj to perform appeasement rites¹

accompanied by the *Hajari* of the army and most of the *Hajaris* from the four *Panas* who led the way, and he travelled in style in a palanquin carrying a flag at the beating of a drum. 18 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began Monday. 5 Friday, the Maharaj went down to Bishnupur to meet Thakur Mahanarayan. 7 Sunday, Thakur Mahanarayan arrived. 17 Tuesday, Yipungsi Puraraja died. 20 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 23 Tuesday, forty long fishing traps² were received. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, one *Khunlakpa* died in the forest. 11 Friday, two tigers were caught in Lampan. 14 Monday, Ngarangyanpa arrived from Tekhao. 22 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, Yipi Phuritsapi³ died. 10 Friday, Singsupam Nimai from Kapo and Aachutananda, who contested the *Pibaship*, were given the royal verdict when the king held court at the Polo ground that the *Pibaship* belonged to Nimai. 23 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 25 Friday, Langmaithempa Cheityana the *Senlungpa* was deported to *Loi* to Yiharai. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, Satrukhn from Kapo was expelled to Mayang with his wife and children. 3 Saturday, 300 Long fishing traps were received. 25 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. New moon Saturday, Soukaicham the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) died. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 17 Tuesday, Tamrathaja left for Mayang. 20 Sunday, all the four *Panas* left for the source of the Yirin river to fell trees there. 26 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 7 Sunday, Thakur Rama arrived from Tekhao with sixty Tekhaos, twenty-nine horses and five sections of the *Bhagabad* (*Purana*). On account of that seventy people (who accompanied it) died.⁴ All those who ate the flesh of the buffalo were sent away to become farmers. On that day a tiger was caught at Yairipok. 15 Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. 16 Tuesday, all those who ate meat were ritually purified. 19 Monday, Satpam maiden, the wife of Kapo Tulasi the *Senlungpa*, died. New moon Tuesday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, Thakur Muhanai went back. Yipungsi Mathuchantra the *Pukhranpa* escorted him. 14 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Patcha Hanpa* arrived from Mayang. 20 Monday, Yipungsi Ral Sing arrived from Aawa. As it was said that Nanteipa Khutlengpa from Kapo was the person who brought Yipungsi Lal Sing from Kapo the *Keirungpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) was punished with death.⁵ 27 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. On that day Yipungsi Mathuchantra who escorted Thakur Muhanarayan returned. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 13 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 17 Sunday, Khwa Sana left for Tekhao. 22 Thursday, Thiya the *Keirungpa* left to negotiate with the Kharam Haos. 26 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. On that day Yumnapa the *Keirungpa* and Lairikyenpa the *Hitang* these two arrived from Mayang. Nata the naked monk and three monks who wore clothes, along with others, a total of forty-one Mayangs including Ram Sing arrived from Mayang. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. On that day Thiya the *Keirungpa* arrived along with the Khongchai Hao. 27 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 28 Thursday, the records of the genealogy (of the people) from earlier days

which were kept since the time of their ancestors, were copied out as the parchments on which the records were written were found to be old and frail.⁶ The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 17 Wednesday, Meetengu Chingthangkhopma left to attack Saiton. He halted at Bishnupur for one day. On that day the Kharis from Kapo arrived and paid obeisance to the Maharaj. 29 Sunday, they reached the army camp at Cheklaphai. 2 Wednesday, all the Hao villages were scattered. Meetengu Chingthangkhopma and others sang *Oukari* (in the village). Meetengu Chingthangkhopma returned immediately and arrived at Cheklapai. The four *Panas*, the guru and others stayed behind and camped in the centre of the village. 3 Thursday, fighting broke out between (the Meeteis) and the Haos at Hathirupa and the Haos killed Khuraichampa the *Hajari* and others, a total of nine people. Nine Haos were also shot down. On the following day as the army was leaving in the night, and this came to be known (by the enemy), as they left behind the cannon made of bell metal and many other weapons, these were lost. 7 Tuesday, the army blocked up the course of Loklao river. 9 Thursday, Ningthem returned after his attack of Saiton. 13 Sunday, Aayekpa the *Hajari*, Nobachantra the *Sakonsenpa*, Lourempam Murari, Yumnam Aarok, Yirom Tayaram, Ningthouchampa Bolaram the *Hajari*, these nine⁷ and Lairen Namhari the *Senlungpa*, Soipam Gourang the *Phunganai* these eight people were deported to *Loi*. On Monday all those who left the weapons were brought to the market place and they were flogged by Lamtam.⁸

- 1 *Thou toupā*: non-Hindu appeasement rites. As the Hindu guru is performing the rites it indicates either that the Hindus had been integrated to the Meetei ways or that they had taken over the tasks which formerly belonged to the Maibis and Maibas, traditional religious functionaries.
- 2 *Lu long*: *Lu* trap *long* the name given to the trap. This trap is made of bamboo in the shape of an egg but with a wide mouth. The person using this gets in the water and scoops the water from as deep as possible. Used by both male and female.
- 3 *Phurit Sapi*: literally one who sewed shirts. It was either a personal name or a name given to her family according to their profession.
- 4 The sentence is obscure as no taboo is attached to the book.
- 5 *Naha oihanye*: literally made him become a youth: executed.
- 6 *La manle haituna*: *La*: the parchment made from tree bark. *Manle haituna*: As it was said that they were old. Ancient writing was done on Manipuri handmade bark leaves. See Introduction to Vol. 1.
- 7 These nine: a scribal error and a misplaced entry.
- 8 *Lamtam*: One's native land. Here probably a personal name.

Sakabda 1712 (1790 CE)

The year of **Kakching Keithen**, Sakabda 1712 (1790 CE). 27 was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, the Kangla (building) was redecorated. The great palace was also built. 7 Wednesday, they began to build the royal palace.

8 Thursday, two *Hajaris* and forty-one Mayang soldiers who came (from Mayang) to obtain information of the attack on Saiton arrived. 13 Tuesday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. On that day a tiger was caught at Waikhong. 14 Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 25 Saturday, Yipi the Chantam maiden died. 27 Monday, Thakur's wife Aaton died. 28 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, the Haos of Wokphrun scattered Soisakameng and killed forty-five people. 8 Saturday, Laiphrakpa Kangla and the *Lampu* of Kapo, these two informed that the people from Kharam had marched against the land when no one actually did march. As no one had marched against the land, both of them were deported to *Loi* to Soisakameng for telling lies. On that same day Loitongpa Kangla was deported to Siosakameng as he was found using sorcery. 11 Monday, Aakhm the *Lakpa* of Khapham (*Pana*) and Konchengpa the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) along with others left for Soisakameng to erect a brick wall and to dig war trenches. The Luhuppa Haos were collected and made to settle at Suknu. 17 Sunday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei and a Hangnem maiden were married. 21 Thursday, a tiger was caught at the old palace. New moon Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, Kangla was inaugurated. On that day when a man from Pukchao was brought and presented (to the king) saying that he was born to Aangom maiden Menlangkhonpi by Laiyingthou Khakempa the king, when he was taking refuge at Leikoi at the beginning of the revolt by the Mayangs, Pukchao was given to Khwairakpam Chalampa and he became a member of the Khwairakpam family. 8 Sunday, 304 Luhuppa Haos were made to establish a village at Purumpan. 18 Tuesday, thirty-five Kharam Haos were made to settle at Waikok. 21 Friday, three Pongs, nine Kapos, two Meetei women, a total of fourteen people who fled from Aawa, arrived. The month of Yinga was an intercalary month. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 3 Thursday, Yipungsi Jubraj's child died. Khemswar (Khemswari) was married to Lairenmayum Jibananda. 7 Sunday, (people from) Luhuppa, Huining, and Huntung, these three (villages) came and paid obeisance to Meetengu Chingthangkhopma. 9 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Patcha Hanpa* was summoned from Moirang. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 5 Sunday, Ningthem and Sija and others went to Nungkei to feast on mangoes. 11 Friday, they caught a tiger at Lamlongkei. On the following day they also caught another tiger. 18 Friday, Khoisnam Ngangpa, Ngariyanpa Khokintra and the *Hanjapa* of the *Lampus* of Tekhao arrived along with an emissary from Tekhao. On that day there was a boat race between the Ningthouchas and the Khumans. The Ningthouchas won the race. There was also a boat race between the residents of Yimu¹ and Yingou² and Yingou won the (first) race. Yimu won the subsequent three races. As the Ningthouchas were pulling up their boat it got damaged at the jetty. 22 Wednesday, the emissary from Tekhao was received at court. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 6 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 11 Sunday, the Luhuppa Haos who lived in Moirang brought (to the king) one head of a Kharam Hao which they had taken as a war trophy. 18 Sunday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of

Wangkhei and others left to attack the Haos of Kharam. Khetra Marom scattered the Haos of the two (villages) of Tumman and Saipum. They captured two people. The (army of) *Phungka Nai* scattered those living in the old villages of Tonbi. They captured two alive and one dead in the battle. When the army of the four *Panas* left to attack those living in the old village of Tonsen they returned without finding any of them as the village had moved to another place. 28 Wednesday, they returned. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 8 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. Full moon Friday, Mutwa the *Keirungpa* left to inspect the track to Tekhao. 18 Tuesday, Yumnam Aarok the *Hajari* left to inspect the area of Tekhao. 25 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Hanchapa* of elephant hands³ left with the emissary from Tekhao to store baskets of husked rice⁴ at Semar. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 8 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 17 Tuesday, Yipungsi Mathuchantra the *Pukhranpa* left for the land of Tekhao. 22 Sunday, (the people of) Soisa Kameng captured and brought five Luhuppa Haos (to the king). 25 Wednesday, Meetengu Chingthangkhopma left to attack Moran. 29 Sunday, Thakur Aanubananda the grandson of the guru and others left to repel the Haos from Aokphrun. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 8 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 11 Friday, ten people who fled from Aawa arrived. 14 Monday, both the *Aarangsang*⁵ and *Wayensang*⁶ Institute buildings were set alight. 27 Saturday, the emissary from Mayang arrived. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. On that day the emissary from Mayang was received in court. 2 Thursday, Sija the second wife of the king left for pilgrimage.⁷ 5 Sunday, Thakur Majwasar died. 8 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 10 Friday, Baji Mangton Das died. On that day there was an earthquake. 18 Sunday, Thiya the *Keirungpa* died. 28 Tuesday, seven people from Yentrenpam of Kapo fled Aawa. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. On that day Chura the *Keirungpa* left for the north to open up the track to Tekhao. On that day twenty people fled Aawa. 7 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 28 Wednesday, they began to build the temple of Gobindaji. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, Ngangpam the *Hinao Hanpa* who fled from Tekhao arrived. 3 Tuesday, the *Hinao Hanpa* was deported to *Loi* to Moirang. Aaya and Nandeipa these two were deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Two men from the Lairikyengpa family and Hotam from the Institute of Eunuchs, three *Mayang Lampus*,⁸ Ngangpam Mangnaitapa, these seven people were deported to *Loi* to Waikok. Seventeen others also who aspired to the throne were tied up by the market place and were flogged with reeds which were used for fire wood. 4 Wednesday, thirty-four (musicians) who were *Pena* players were slain by the Hoas from Kharam. 7 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 18 Wednesday, Meetengu Chingthangkhopma returned after attacking Moran. Yipungsi Roma the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms and others including 700 male were left behind to destroy the land.⁹ But Yipungsi Cheitanynanda the *Lourung Puren*,¹⁰ Aangom Suntarananda, Haopam Aachranpa, Khetri Govintram, Soukaijampa Baloram and Wairokpa, these six people and some others became detached from the rest and got lost. 20 Thursday, Konjengpa the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*), Yumnam Aarok the *Hajari*, Aayekpa

Kongnga the *Hajari* and Chuthamani Aawang the *Hitang*, these four were deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Yipungsi the *Pukhranpa* was deported to *Loi* to Kyamkei. Aangom the *Hanjapa* of Palanquine hands was deported to *Loi* to Soisakameng. Chingngakhanpa, the *Lakpa* of Naharup (*Pana*) and Khunpong the *Senlungpa* these three¹¹ were punished at the granary (*Kei*).¹² Ngangpam the *Hinao Hanpa*¹³ was deported to *Loi* to Moirang. Monday the first day of the lunar month [of **Lamta** (February/March)]¹⁴, Yipungsi the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms along with all those who were left behind at Tekhao to spy, returned. Meetengu Chingthangkhopma had all those who had absconded from their duty, including the *Hajaris* of the four *Panas*, a total of seventeen people, tied up on a platform by the market place which was especially constructed, and they were exposed in public for a whole day. Some of those soldiers who were the king's personal attendants were tied up by the market and they were whipped with reeds used for fire wood. Those soldiers were made to become farmers. 4 Thursday, Yipungsi Roma the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms was deported to *Loi* to Moirang. Chaiba Khraloija was deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Ningthouchampa Balaram was deported to *Loi* to Thangka. Lairen Namhari, Maibram Chakrabani, Yenkhoipa Gourangga, Huitrompa the *Naha Rakpa*¹⁵ and Khomtram Roma, these five were deported to *Loi* to Aarong. Wareppa Banamali the *Hajari*, Yiroipa Krishnachantro, Khaithipa the *Hitang*, these three were deported to *Loi* to Samupan. Gujanda from Kapo and Khuraijam Mungyampa, these two were deported to *Loi* to Yiharai. Nityananda the *Laipakhra* and Yirom Pukchao, these two were deported to *Loi* to Sekmai. Lammapa the *Hajari* and Chirom Narayan, these two along with their wives and children were made to become servants as both failed to provide a horse to Yipungsi Cheityainanda the *Lourungpuren* at the battle field. Chirom Narayan was flogged in front of the Cheirap court. 7 Monday, Aaya and Nanteipa, these two were deported to *Loi* to Samupan.

- 1 *Yimu*: Residents near the Loktak lake.
- 2 *Yingou*: Residents near the big river.
- 3 *Samusenpa Hanchapa*: Official in charge of Elephant hands.
- 4 *Chengkak*: Literally husked rice (carried) on the head (most probably by women). *Chengkak* is a measure of a specific basket weighing approximately 18.660 kg. (20 *Indian seers*. (20 × 0.933 kg = 18.660 kg.) Term used for the first time.
- 5 *Arangsang*: The Institute building which deals with management of the royal household. Term used for the first time.
- 6 *Wayensang*: The king's administrative court. Term used for the first time.
- 7 *Tirtha*: Bengali term for a place of pilgrimage. Term used for the first time.
- 8 *Mayang Lampu*: *Lampu* who is an appointee of the king and who exercises some power over the Mayangs to keep law and order. Same as *Hao Lampu*. Term used for the first time.
- 9 *Leipakchapamee*: Conflation of *Leipak*, land, country, *chaba* to eat. To plunder the land. Alternatively, a spy.
- 10 *Lourung Puren*: Chief official over all those in charge of paddy fields and its products. Chief agriculture officer. Term used for the first time.
- 11 There is a discrepancy by one person.

- 12 *Keita sumye*: Conflation of two words: *keita* at the granary or barn, *sumye* past tense of *sumba*, literally it means to wring as in wringing a wet cloth or to extract oil by a press. In this context, it refers to punishment with hard labour or by confinement at the Kei areas where granaries were built. Term used for the first time.
- 13 *Hinao hanpa*: *Hinao*: the person who sits at the rear of the boat, *Hanpa*: the head. The chief of the boat coxes. Term used for the first time.
- 14 Only the date of the beginning of Lamta is given.
- 15 *Naha Rakpa*: *Naha*: youth, *Rakpa* or *Lakpa*: the person in charge of the youths of either the whole land or a specific area. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1713 (1791 CE)

The year of Ngariyanpam Pansa, Sakabda 1713 (1791 CE). 7 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began. On that day the emissary from Tekhao was received at court. 10 Thursday, the emissary from Mayang arrived. 12 Friday, the Mayang emissary was received at court. 15 Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, they started to build the Kangla. 8 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 14 Tuesday, Kokpei of Samurailatpam family was expelled to Mayang as he had killed a woman by stabbing her with a knife. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 10 Saturday, Kangla (building) was inaugurated. 12 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. Full moon Thursday, the emissary from Mayang arrived. 25 Sunday, the emissary from Mayang was received at court. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, Sicha Tharak the *Khuraileima* was escorted to the Aangom family with one elephant, one horse and many other items for her dowry.¹ Two institutes called the *Sangsaloi*² and *Aayokpa*³ were established. From that time onwards Yipungsi Krashnachandra, who lived in Kapo, was appointed the *Wurungpuren*.⁴ 14 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 8 Sunday, Yipungsi Krashnachandra the *Wurungpuren* left for Koubru to bore a salt well. 11 Wednesday, Lourempa the *Lakpa* of Yaiskun died. 17 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday.⁵ 4 Friday, the Mayang emissary arrived. 9 Tuesday, the Mayang emissary came and informed that Brapatya had died. Yipungsi the *Wurungpuren* and others who went to bore salt mines returned. 10 Wednesday, the Mayang (emissary) was received at court. 11 Thursday, Yipungsi Tatra Sing the *Lakpa* of Yaiskun left for Mayang. 17 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 18 Thursday, they opened a new market. 22 Monday, the people attended the new market. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 18 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, Yumnam the *Keirungpa* and Haopam Kumutananda, these two, returned from boring salt wells carried out by the Aahanlup (*Pana*). 3 Sunday, Oinam Bira Sing the *Keirungpa* and Thokchao the *Hajari*, these two from the Naharup (*Pana*) left to bore salt wells. 19 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 8 Saturday, Kapo Satrukhn arrived to make the tribute payment from the Mayangs to the king. 10 Monday, Khoisna the Tekhao *Lampu* left along

with the Tekhaos. 19 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 20 Thursday, those in the voluntary militia of the *Leikais*⁶ and three people from the *Sangsaroi* group exchanged their tasks. They also established *Tengkhan* Institute.⁷ A tiger was also caught. 24 Monday, Aangom Biramani vouchsafed Ningthem that the brass-smith Manichantra and his children, the three of them were of the same blood. They were pardoned and were made to join the new Yumnam (extended) family. 28 Friday, Hunam the Mayang emissary was received at court. The area of Taipi Lamlen was also leveled. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 9 Monday, the two villages of Tumman and Saipum, these two villages presented (to the king) sixteen heads (which had been taken) as war trophies after attacking Saiton. 10 Tuesday, the cannons for the Naharup and Khapham (*Panas*) were cast. 18 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 26 Tuesday, the Kharis of Kapo sent two heads taken (in battle) for helping (them) to recover their territorial boundary⁸ from the Aawas. They also went (to bore) salt wells at Ningen. 25 Thursday, the salt mine was completed. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, as it was reported that the Aawas had marched out to attack the land, the *Hajari* of the Aahanlup (*Pana*), Haopam Kumutananda, the *Hajari* of the Kapo Khunpong (settlement) and Tulasi, these four men and others left to repel the Aawas. 5 Saturday, they returned saying that the Aawas did not come. 17 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. Meiyengpa Koihari the chief of Wumu village who was from the same family line as the Chingakhm family pleaded Ningthem to allow him to be severed from the old family connection and to allow him to join the family of the Yipungsi, who was the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, by offering ten silver coins to the king at the Yirusang building. The king's verdict was that what the man had asked was wrong and he was deported to *Loi* to Suknu and the *Piba* of his family was suspended by the legs and flogged in front of the Cheirap Court. Aaramba Nimai arrived from Tekhao. 12 Monday, they were able to enter the salt mine and obtain the brine. 16 Friday, they began to bore another salt well. 17 Wednesday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Keipun to hunt. Forty-four animals were caught. Lourakpam Purananta died of a spear wound (during the hunt). 18 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. On that day as it was reported that two male choirs of Chourajit and Lourempa Krishnachantra became involved in a brawl as they went to celebrate the *Holi* festival,⁹ many men from the choirs including Rorempa (Lourempa) were deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Most men from the four choirs including Changningsipa were sent back to their own respective villages. 20 Tuesday, as it was reported that Satpam Chagata had sold the wife of Yipungsi Tekhao Khompa the *Senapati* to Thingkucham maiden,¹⁰ he was chained with iron chains and flogged and deported to *Loi* to Thangka. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 17 Monday was the last day of the season. 18 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu.

1 *Lanwunpot*: dowry. Term used for the first time.

2 *Sangsalo*: from term *Sangsaba*: to build houses, *sangsalo*: professional builders

- who belonged to the Institute Building for Builders. Term used for the first time.
- 3 *Aayokpa*: to adopt in the family. Institute building where those who were adopted by the king were housed.
 - 4 *Wurungpuren*: Chief forestry officer. Term used for the first time.
 - 5 The month of Yingen is missing.
 - 6 *Leikai lanmi*: *Leikai* lane, *lanmi* army. Every lane had a body of voluntary militia. Term used for the first time.
 - 7 *Tengkhal Sang*: An Institute consisting of a group of people who worked as masons and dealt with stone carving and chipping, as well as the digging of trenches, drains, graves and at the same time who were responsible for the king's gardens. Subsequently they came to be known as Tengkhal. Term used for the first time.
 - 8 *lam onpaki*: *lam* land, boundary, *onpaki*: *onpa* to alter, to measure: *ki*: suffix for, on account of: either to reoccupy their territorial boundary from the usurpers or to extend their boundary.
 - 9 *Holi*: An Indian Hindu festival. This festival coincides with the spring festival of the Meeteis which is celebrated with communal dancing and gifts of new clothes, especially to the young children, and followed by a communal feast. This spring festival became partly Hinduised when the Holi festival became appended to it. At the *Holi* festival participants both male and female adults imitate the frolics Krishna the cow herd had with the milkmaids while trying to pour coloured water over each other. At present both the traditional Meetei Spring festival *Yaosang* and the Hindu *Holi* are observed simultaneously. Term used for the first time.
 - 10 Obscure.

Sakabda 1714 (1792 CE)

The year of Aakoicham Khongchampa, Sakabda 1714 (1792 CE). 18 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began.¹ 25 Monday, the emissary from Tekhao left along with Tamari Gourang and others. 7 Saturday, the Khongchais were received at court. As it was said by Yipungi Krishnachandra the *Wurungpuren* it was not good for the king to go to bore a salt well Yipungsi the *Nongthonpa* left to bore the salt well on 8 Sunday.² 16 Monday, smallpox broke out at Takhen Chirang. 20 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 26 Thursday, the Pamons performed Hindu religious rites for the smallpox epidemic³ at Takhen Chirang. As the king's personal chief elephant became wild while it was let loose at Takna, it was caught after building a *song* (enclosure)⁴ on 22 Saturday. On the new moon Sunday, Yipungsi the *Nongthonpa* returned from having dug the salt mine. On that day the *Sangkranti* of Kalen also began. 9 Wednesday, Ngangpam Toyaram the *Lakpa* of Khwai died. Some people including Mutum Tamari Gourang, who had left for Tekhao, returned as they were unable to make the journey. 21 Sunday, three Kapui Haos who stole cattle had their hands cut off. 23 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday.⁵ 2 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Yaiskun returned from Mayang. 20 Sunday, the Mayangs were received at court. 25 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 29 Wednesday, there were much thundering in the night. Sixty-one thunderbolts fell. The whole sky was covered with flashes of lightning. The whole land was lit up. Many kites and sparrows were

killed. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 27 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. On that day *Shrijut*⁶ Maharaj Chigthangkhopma exempted Chungsupa Achutananda and his brother, these two, from compulsory duties to the state as they were chosen to be personal servants to the king. This was communicated to Soukaicham the *Senlumgpa* (to be announced). The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, the Khongchais were received at court. 28 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 29 Saturday, Lairikyengpa Saching Haochou was deported to *Loi* to Suknu with his wife and children as he was found using sorcery. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. When the servant from the Pangan family who ran away to Aawa was found, he was deported to *Loi* to Suknu. 25 Wednesday, Yipi Yumlenpi and others, a total of nineteen people who fled from Aawa, arrived. 26 Saturday, Yaikhupa the *Keirungpa* died. 29 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Tuesday. 8 Tuesday, Songsuk Sanakhon, both husband and wife also arrived. The emissary from Mayang also arrived. 10 Thursday, the Mayang emissary was received at court. Songsok, Sekmu and Pansa, these three villages came and paid obeisance to Ningthem. 27 Sunday, the Khongchais were received at court. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 20 Sunday, the emissary from Tekhao left. 29 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 8 Friday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left to inspect a plot for building Tekhao embassy. 10 Sunday, a tiger was caught at Mayang Leimanai. 11 Monday, (Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei) returned from his inspection of Tekhao building plot. 12 Tuesday, Thakur Punyachantra returned to Mayang. 13 Wednesday, a delivery house was built for the (Manipuri) Sija the Mayang queen. 17 Sunday the guru, Yipungsi the *Nongthonpa* and Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, these three and others including all the members of the male choirs of the land were forced to construct a building for religious assembly⁷ at Kumphi building plot. 22 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Ningthem left to inspect Chantrakhong canal. 4 Wednesday, Ninthem returned from his inspection of Chantrakhong canal. 11 Tuesday, Ningthem built up a barricade through the ascent of Chaopok mountain. They also began to build up the ground along the banks of Yiril river. 14 Friday, (he also) inspected plots for housing. 15 Sunday, Ningthem went (again) to inspect Chandrakhong canal. 17 Tuesday (some of) those who served the king were dismissed as they were found to be inefficient in their tasks. All the things used for serving the king were taken back from them. The official cane stick⁸ also was taken back. Both the *Tengkhangs*⁹ were deported to *Loi*. 2 Friday,¹⁰ Ningthem left to inspect a plot for building a house. Those (chosen) to be the personal attendants to the king were made to be in charge of what was needful in their tasks. 21 Saturday, the maharani and all the royal ladies went down to the house of the guru to take part in a religious feast. 25 Wednesday, the Haos from Haosam Kakpharoi and Luhuppa, these two villages were made to raise the ground level of Taknalamlan area. Yipungsi the *Nongthonba* was made to collect all the Kapui inhabitants from the mountain range to complete building the banks of

Chantranati river. New moon Sunday the first *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. Thakur Purnachantra also arrived from Mayang. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 7 Tuesday, they deified¹¹ the carving of *Apteita Pravu*. 27 Saturday, Ningthem and Sija went down to Lamlangtong. 29 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. On that day Sija Chandra returned from her trip to the Ganges. Three Ramandi monks also arrived. 2 Thursday, Ningthem and Sija who went to Lamangtong returned. 28 Monday, Thakur Syamnago the *Hitang* died. New moon Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began.

- 1 The month of Sachiphu is missing.
- 2 There is a superstition that harm befalls when the king or a member of the reigning king's family visits a salt well.
- 3 Another superstitious element.
- 4 *Song sa*: song: enclosure, *sa* for *saba* to build, after building an enclosure.
- 5 The month of Kalen is missing.
- 6 *Shrijut*: Sanskrit honorific term. Term used for the first time.
- 7 *Aakhara*: Bengali term for club house, or monastery. In this case a big building used for religious assembly. Term used for the first time.
- 8 *Leechei*: The cane stick probably was the official stick which the eunuch in charge of guarding the palace used to scrape on the ground as he walked around the palace in the night to let intruders know of his presence.
- 9 *Tengkhan*: An inhabitant of Tengka.
- 10 Discrepancy on the date.
- 11 *Jivanas*: for *jivanyas*: Bengali term meaning to deposit life in an image of either a cast or a carving by means of religious rites. Term has been used for the first time.

Sakabda 1715 (1793 CE)

The year of Ningompam Khompa, Sakabda 1715 (1793 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, Ningthem along with Sija went to inaugurate the bridge at the confluence of Yiril river. The whole country was fed on *tan*. 4 Sunday, the Haos from Saiton came and paid obeisance to Ningthem. 23 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 11 Tuesday, a Bamon who lived in Konchin died. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 4 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 6 Sunday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 7 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 15 Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 22 Wednesday, nine people, who fled from Aawa arrived. 27 Monday, a tiger was caught at Aakhm village. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 9 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 10 Sunday, Yipungos, the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup, and the *Lakpa* of Naharup (*Panas*), the *Hanjapa* of security guards of the royal goods, and Haopam the *Senlungpa*, these four, and others left to fell trees and build a *song* enclosure at Suknu. 20 Tuesday, Ningthem made all the courtiers of the country listen (to the public reading of) Shri Bhagavad at Kangla. 25 Sunday, Langpoklakpam requested

Meetengu Chingthangkhopma that as he was from the lineage of the Yipungo Aahanpa, his family should be allowed to belong to the royal family. Ningthem summoned many *sageis* and it was discussed, and they found that Yipungo Aahanpa had no issue and that Langpoklakpam was from the lineage of Meetengu Thangbi Lanthapa. He was accused of fraud and was deported to *Loi* to Moirang along with his wife and children. 28 Wednesday, Yipungsi Chakata's daughter-in-law was killed by his servant with the spear. The servant was given to the Haos on account of his being too stubborn. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. 10 Monday, the *Kwaktanpa*¹ ceremony was performed. Yipungsi Aanatasai the *Mantri* left for the Ganges. 11 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 19 Wednesday, Yipemma Yangampi the *Leimakhupi* left for Shri Brandaabon carrying the image of Ratharomon. 25 Tuesday, Mutum Gourang who went to Tekhao returned. Bamon Katki along with twenty-two Tekhaos arrived. 28 Friday, the Tekhaos were received at court. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 11 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 20 Friday, Laisrapa the *Senlungba* and the emissary from Tekhao left together. 21 Saturday, Phatang Haos came to pay obeisance to Ningthem. 28 Sunday, Sija Jatiswari was escorted to Haopam Kumuta the *Senlungpa*. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 11 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 18 Friday, Ningthem and Sija along with others had a picnic at the old royal palace site and they ate *utongchak*. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, Ningthem and Sija left to inspect Chantrakhong canal. 3 Saturday, Ningthem and Sija returned. 10 Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. On that day Bamon Thakur Patranpes, Tulasiram Thakur the *Purohit*, Tumkhok Bhandari, and Ramgopan Brakayet, these four men along with 400 other men arrived from Mayang. The following day, Sunday, they were received at court. 19 Monday, they left to repair the track to Mayang. 24 Saturday, they said good-bye and left.² 25 Sunday, they began the building for Sija the Mayang Leima. 29 Friday, the Mayang emissary returned. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 4 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. 5 Wednesday, (which was also) the day of *Shripanchami*, at midnight, Yipungsi Krishnachantra entered in by the main (palace) door along with Haoteicham Nakhinarian and others saying that he was the king. Kapo Rasi, Yenkhom Khenlempa, and Lairik Yengpa Kheram, these three and others entered by the Lukanpa gate. Maisnam Khongchompa and Ngairangpa Raso, these two, and others entered by the Karaothong gate. Potsangpa Maniram, Toibichampa Mukinda and his servant Kousing, these three men set alight the royal residence. As Yipungsi Herachandra the *Senapati* came to fight the fire, he was ambushed on the way by Rupananda a brass-smith who was a servant of the Aangom family and Aakangcham Lamthoi, these two and others, and stabbed him (with the sword). Kapo Panhop and Khokintra the carpenter, these two and others who were hiding by the door of Yipungsi, the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei (in Wangkheirakpa's palace) failed (in their plot) and fled. Maisnam Aamutan and his servant Tonapa and others who were hiding behind the door of (the palace of) Yipungsi Madhuchantra the *Hanchapa* of the Institute of eunuchs also failed (in their plot) and fled. All these were found

out and it came to be known (by the king). But Shri Shrijut Maharaj, who was the servant of Govindaji and who drank the water in which the lotus feet of the god had been washed, who was the head of all, who took care for the spiritual as well as the material needs of all his children and grandchildren, pardoned all (who rose against him) by deporting Yipungsi Krishanchandra to *Loi* to Khaopum Hao, Potsangpa Maniram to Suknu and Maisnam to Thangka. And most of the rest of those who took part (in the attempt to overthrow the king) were deported to *Loi* to various places according to their ranks. 11 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 15 Friday, there was a lunar eclipse. 19 Wednesday, the emissary from Tekhao arrived. 20 Thursday, the emissary from Tekhao was received at court. Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Yaiskun left to call the Mayang king. 22 Saturday, as it was said that a letter sent by Yipungsi Krishnachandra was received by Tulasi the *Hajari* of Khumpong, (Tulasi) was deported to *Loi* to Hangkun. Thokchom Kratibasi was deported to *Loi* to Aarong. 28 Friday, the emissary sent by the Mayang king to confirm the news of the death of Yipungsi Herachandra the *Senapati*, arrived. 29 Saturday, he was received at court. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, they started to build the main royal palace. Yipungsi Muphapa had his ears pierced. They also said farewell to the Mayang emissary. 7 Saturday, the *Kapo Lampu* along with the *Senapati* and others and 600 soldiers left with the Tekhao emissary. 8 Sunday, the Chapung Haos came and paid tribute (to the king). 11 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. Full moon Sunday, the main royal palace was inaugurated. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 10 Wednesday, Aarampa the *Hajari* who went to Mayang, returned.

- 1 *Kwaktanpa*: A religious rite in which after the crows are coaxed to feed in a flock they are chased away and omens are read for the incoming year from the flight formation of the crows. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Pitai touye*: *pitai* for *bidai* Bengali term for good bye, *touye*: past tense of *touba*, to do. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1716 (1794 CE)

The year of Thokchom Koipa, Sakabda 1716 (1794 CE). 10 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began. 18 Friday, Ningthem went down and inaugurated a palace at Yumnam. 28 Sunday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* who went to the Ganges returned. Thakur Bityalangkar the *Hanchapa* also arrived. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 14 Tuesday, twenty-five people who fled from Aawa, arrived. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 14 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 17 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 19 Wednesday, the *Senlungpa* who was the emissary to Tekhao, arrived. 21 Friday, while Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei was in office in the Khapham (*Pana*), Khapham (*Pana*) won the Polo matches against the Laipham (*Pana*), Aahanlup (*Pana*), Naharup (*Pana*) and the Phunkanai, these four Institutes. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 18 Thursday, the *Sangkranti*

of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 16 Thursday (the people of) all the four *Panas* left for the source of both Yiril and Thoupan rivers to fell trees. 20 Sunday the Sangkranti of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 27 Monday, they blocked the river which flowed through the Aapong homestead. 22 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, Yipungsi Chourajit who went to the Ganges returned. 3 Monday, they began to build the Utra (Wutra building). 11 Monday, Wangkhei Cha Nanda and others along with the Mayang emissary went back. 22 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 10 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. 13 Friday, the servant of the Leisangthem family was deported to *Loi* to Suknu as it was said that he had killed his wife. 20 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left to inspect Snayan Lokchao for a housing area for the people of Chothe. 22 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 7 Monday, the people of Tarao and Palen, these two caught one rhinoceros¹ and they presented it to the king. 19 Friday, they began to make the earthen plinth at the Konthoucham homestead which is in the Khwai village. 20 Saturday, the king of Tekhao of the Mayangs arrived with his wife and children. 22 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The *Hanchapa* of the security guards of the royal belongings, who overseered the migration of the Chothe main village from Lammangtong, led the people as they began their journey on 25 Thursday. 27 Saturday, they arrived at their new settlement. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Khelaram of Sangaibrou and others were sent to call Khokintra the *Lampu* of Kapo² from Tekhao. 17 Friday, Ningthem and Sija left to inspect the palace (building) at the Khwai village plot. 21 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. They dug a pond for Ningthem in the Khwai village. 3 Sunday, they began to construct a stable for the elephants, a stable for horses and a building for storing timber³ and a gate, these four buldings. Yipungsi Khongchai Ngampa and his brother also took the sacred thread. 4 Monday, the Tekhao king's son had his ears pierced. 9 Friday, the Tekhao king's grandson also had his ears pierced. 15 Thursday, *Sri Nityananda Prabhu* was established. 21 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, there was a contest over seniority between Yirom Murari and Tamuton. Murari said Aamuton (Tamuton) was a *hao*.⁴ They entered into a brawl at the royal palace gate. When it was also said that all the members of the extended family were *haos*, four agressors were flogged and then deported to *Loi* to Waikok. Murari and others, a total of six people were deported to *Loi* to Marampa Kei. Prasuram also was deported to *Loi* to Marampa Kei. 7 Friday, Kaporampam Senapati arrived from Tekhao. 10 Monday, the Tekhaos were received at court. 17 Monday, Kaporampam Senapati was deported to *Loi* to Moirang as he carried out the order of Pakhongnai and marched to battle in which many people were killed.

- 1 *Samukontha*: rhinoceros. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Kapo Lampu*: either he held the post of a *Lampu* in Kapo which was still in the Manipur territory or he was a *lampu* who lived in Kapo and now had gone to Tekhao.
- 3 *Usang (wusang)*: Building where timber is stored and carpentry work is carried out.
- 4 *Hao* origin: As Hinduism began to be more established, the term *Hao* from being used in reference to a commoner as against the royalty, began to be applied to a non-Hindu with a derogative and negative implication. The layered Hindu social structure began to creep in. Regardless of the punishment imposed by the king on some of his subjects who spelt out the Hindu social perception of human inequality based on birth, the breakdown of the traditional egalitarian social structure of the land began to take place. With the king himself being a keen convert to Hinduism, this probably was the beginning of 'the divide' amongst the subjects which later greatly affected the history of the people.

Sakabda 1717 (1795 CE)

The year of Lairenjam Gangkaram, Sakabda 1717 (1795 CE). 22¹ Saturday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 5 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei and others left to escort back the emissary from Tekhao. 17 Wednesday, they began to build nineteen buildings including the temple for Shri Govindaji at the new palace complex at the Khwai village. 26 Saturday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned from escorting the Tekhao emissary. 27 Sunday, seven travellers including Kasouti arrived from Mayang. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. When the families of Aakoksa, Wairitapam the spinner of silk yarn and Sutra Mayum (the family of Sutra) these three family groups who had settled before the days of Meetengu Chingthangkhempa brought their cases before the king saying that they did not belong to the Cachari Aakoksa group;² their cases were checked up by Khumuwa the *Hanjapa*, Aathou the *Hajari*, Aakanpa the *Hitang* and Kangathon in the presence of Jai Sing Maharaj and it was found that they belonged to the group of Aakoksa from Mayang Cachari, to which they agreed. They were fined and paid a fine of four *Tangka* (gold coins) to Ningthem and a fine of *Lakh* seventy thousand *Sen* to the family of Mayang. 7 Monday, Waihengpa Laingampa and others including four king's guards from the four *Panas* were sent by Ningthem with a message to Thakur Rathanat. 14 Monday, Yipungsi Chourajit left to meet Thakur Rathanat. 17 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left to meet Thakur Rathanat. 25 of Kalen Friday they began to report to Kuchu (the palace court). 26 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. It was the second day of the lunar month. 21 Wednesday, Kwarupa Ningthem's son died. 26 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 10 Sunday, Shri Mahabisoi Thakur Rathanat arrived. 13 Wednesday there was an earthquake. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. That day the *Sangkranti* of Thawan also began. 7 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei went and caught a tiger. 29 Saturday, a tiger was caught at Thoupan Leisangthem. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on

Monday. 2 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 19 Friday, Kangla (building) was dismantled. A man from the Aoinam lane was injured. 20 Saturday, Nanteipa Khutling the *Keirungpa*, Phuritsapa Narahari the *Keirungpa*, Naorem the *Keirungpa*, and Aoinam Bira Sing the *Keirungpa*, these four and others left for Koubru to fell trees. The month of **Langpan** (August/September)³ began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, they began to build Kangla. 2 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 5 Sunday, Pheitya Khongnang the emissary to Mayang and two others, who rode on palanquin, arrived with 135 people. 13 Monday, the Mayangs were received at court. They also began to make a tiara with jewels⁴ for Shri Govindaji. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 13 Tuesday the temple was inaugurated. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 3 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 5 Wednesday, the Mayang official Phoitya (Pheitya) Khongang and Sakouti left. 7 Friday, Tumchakrnaran of Takhen arrived with an elephant. 10 Monday, Ngangpam the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup (*Pana*) left for the Ganges. 16 Monday, Rathanat Thakur left. The emissary from Takhen was received at court. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 5 Friday, they began to dredge the river starting from Koiremkei. 14 Saturday, some people including Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei caught a tiger at Leikinthabi. 25 Wednesday, Yipi Khangngenpi died. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. On that day Yipungsi Krishna Sai the *Patcha Hanpa* died. 13 Sunday, Nityaiprabhu was deified. 20 Saturday⁵ four people from the Kai area of Sikong were killed by the Chothe Haos. 22 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left to find fish⁶ in the hilly areas of Thangka. 26 Monday,⁷ Khenaram of Sangaibrou left for Tekhao. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 2 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 6 Wednesday, the Haos from Choitha came and scattered Antro. They killed twelve people. Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left to repel the Choitha Haos. 10 Friday, Yipungsi Mathuchantra's wife the Chongtham maiden died. 12 Sunday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned after he had repelled the raiders. 16 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Soisa Kameng to scout for battle. 20 Monday, the people of Kakching captured one *keichenglang*.⁸ 27 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned after he had repelled the raiders from Soisa Kameng. A servant from the Thokchom family was killed at Suknu as it was said that he had killed a cow. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday.

- 1 Twenty-two here refers to twenty-second of the month of Lamta and not of Sachiphu, though the new year is always associated with it and is called Sachiphu new year.
- 2 *Aakoksa*: This term has a derived meaning of being ritually base, those possessed with evil spirit. This refers to those Indian immigrants who, according to the Hindu caste system belong to the lower caste but now had settled in Manipur.
- 3 *Langpan*: Probably an intercalary month.
- 4 *Manimukut*: Bengali for crown with jewels. Term used for the first time.
- 5, 7 Discrepancy on the dates.

- 6 *Nganeipa*: Conflation of *Nga* fish, *neipa* to harass or cause stress. One of the methods used to catch fish is by churning the mud after draining the water from a set area. This method is still used. Term used for the first time.
- 8 *Keichenglang*: a small tiger of a rare species. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1718 (1796 CE)

The year of Soraisam Brasutom, Sakabda 1718 (1796 CE). 3 Sunday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. On that day Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei arrived from Mayang with Sarokkhaiba who was a *Lampu* in Tekhao. 17 Sunday, they began to build the royal palace, the shrine for the *lai*, and *Leikhomsang*¹ these three and others, a total of nineteen buildings. 25 Monday, Meetengu Chingthangkhopma moved house to the Konthoucham homestead at the Khwai village from Kanchipur. 28 Thursday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei also moved up. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, as the Nungsong Haos came and requested if they could be servants of Ningthem, they were received at court. 5 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, fire broke out in the temple and the *mantop*² of Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei. 5 Friday a pupil tree³ was planted in the middle of the pond (in the Khonthoujam homestead). Four jack fruit trees were planted at the four corners (of the homestead). 7 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. 11 Thursday, one *Kiyanglai*⁴ which was captured from Sachep was presented to the king. 21 Sunday, there was an earthquake. 22 Monday, Shri Govindaji's temple and *mantop* were set alight. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday.⁵ 2 Wednesday, princess Mayang Leima was married to Langmaithempa Thoni. 9 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 27 Sunday, when Langmaithem Brandabon (and his family) was ordered (by the court) to become a branch of a descent group of the *Hanchapa* of the security guards, they fought and (they) were deported to *Loi* to Yithai. 29 Tuesday, Wusam Gouramani and Bhatra Sing, an apothecary; these two were summoned from Heirok. 22 Wednesday,⁶ conscripts who were of Kapo origin were summoned. On that day the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 22 Friday,⁷ Ngangpam Aachutananda returned from the Ganges. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Sunday. On that day twenty-six people including Kongpajam Brandabon fled from Kapo. 14 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 24 Monday, forty-five people including Mongbijam Brandapon arrived from Aawa. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 6 Sunday, Aangom Chantramani the *Hanchapa* of the elephant grooms and others returned from Koubru after having caught an elephant which had grown tusks. That day the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. Ningthem arrived on 8 Tuesday. The month of **Hyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. 14 Tuesday, a man of Aaheipam family who claimed that no sword could penetrate him arrived from Aawa. Yipungsi Khapa the *Lakpa* of Khwai was deported to *Loi* to Heirok where the Mayangs had settled as it was said that some people were canvassing for his supporters with the intention of putting

him on the throne. Wusam Gouramanai was deported to *Loi* to Heiyen. Rupananda the conscript, Chingkangpam Aobhi and Chekong, these three were deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Heika Kolingpa of Kapo (origin) was deported to *Loi* to Wangngu. Nobachantra the conscript was deported to *Loi* to Mawaungampa. Narasing the conscript was deported to *Loi* to Kumphi. New moon Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Leimram of the Chakpas and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 10 Sunday, Sija was escorted to the Langmaithem family. Banhop the conscript of Kapo (origin) was deported to *Loi* to Yithai when he refused to obey an order to become a descent group of the Sija who was married to the Langmaithem family. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Yiaskun was summoned back. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 4 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. Full moon Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, Ningthem left for Tarung to inspect the land. 5 Tuesday, Pancharaton the *Wayengpa* dispersed the gathering when he found that the *Phungkanais*⁸ were beaten without finding the details of the matter and the *Tolaipaba*⁹ (who was beating the servants) was deported and he was made to become a labourer in the field. Yumlenpa and Samloipa, these two from the Phungkanai group, were also deported to *Loi*. 13 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 20 Tuesday, Thokchao the *Hajari* and others left to open a track to Takhen. 25 Sunday, Ningthem attended a *kirton* given by the *Kalaraja*¹⁰ at Lammangtong. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Tengkhan Samu who ran away to the land of the Mayangs was caught by the *Hao Lampu* and he was deported to Suknu. 9 Monday, Yipungsi Baishnap returned from his pilgrimage. 14 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 28 Friday, they began to build Shri Govindaji's temple and the Kangla (building). The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 5 Friday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left to clear the overgrowth at Kameng. 13 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. On that day Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned after clearing the undergrowth. 20 Friday, Yipungo¹¹ the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Kameng to (patrol and) repel the Choitha Haos as it was reported that they were approaching. He also built barricades. On that day Haopam Kumadananda the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) also left for Chandrakhong to patrol and repel the raiders. 26 Friday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned after he had repelled the raiders. 29 Monday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Kameng to repel the Choitha Haos. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 5 Monday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned after he had repelled the raiders.

- 1 *Leikhomsang*: literally a hut for storing clay. Function obscure. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Mantop*: A large covered area by a temple or a courtyard where religious functions are carried out. Term used for the first time.
- 3 This pupil tree was still growing in 1948.

- 4 *Kiyang Lai*: an image from Kiyang. Normally talking of objects of worship and veneration were regarded as a symbol of subjugation of the people concerned. To have it presented to the king implies the power of the king over those from whom the *lai* was taken.
- 5 For the following months up to the beginning of the month of Poinu, there is dislocation and repetition of text probably due to scribal miscopying.
- 6–7 Discrepancy on dates.
- 8 *Phungkanai*: literally either household servants or servants who had their own family hearth. There was also a *Sanglakpa* or *Lakpa* who was responsible for either the *Phungkanai* or the house where the *Phungkanais* were housed. They worked for the king and were not slaves. Term used for the first time.
- 9 *Tolaipaba*: A junior appointee of the king who played the role of a police constable and exercised some power. Term used for the first time.
- 10 *Kalaraja*: literally black king, Bengali term. The chief of the immigrant group *Kalisas* also known as *Bishnupriyas* of Mayang origin who have darker skin colour than the people of Manipur and who had settled in the Ningthoukhong area. Term used for the first time.
- 11 Yipungsi and Yipungo interchangeably used.

Sakabda 1719 (1797 CE)

The year of Nanteipa Lakhun, Sakabda 1719 (1797 CE). Full moon Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 19 Saturday, Thokchao and Laisrapa the *Hajari*, these two left to see the Takhen emissary off. They returned straight away. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, Khunpong the *Lakpa* of *Aakhan* and *Aateng* groups of the *Phungkanai* along with others left for the northern region for battle. 7 Wednesday, Sija Seshpu the daughter of Maharani Aakha was escorted to Langmaithem Thani. 12 Monday, Ratmani the *Lakpa* of *Tengkhangsang*¹ from Khunpong, Wahengpa Chantra the *Hajari* and Laisram Mukunta the *Hajari*, these three and others from the *Aakhan*, *Aateng* and *Aayokpa*, these three Institutes² returned after attacking Makkhui in the northern region. They captured twelve people in the battle. 17 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 23 Friday, as it was reported that the chief of elephants was becoming wild, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei went to Yisok and captured the elephant. On that day Pangan Tonpa of Mangkanmayum presented to the Maharaj five *Kathis*³ of finely shredded roots of *yenlam*,⁴ thirty brass pots of molasses, twenty bunches of dried tobacco leaves, ten *changs*⁵ of dry peas and five *changs* of black lentils.⁶ It was said that if they had five *kathis* of these finely shredded roots of *yenlam* it would not be difficult for them to reach the Ganges. Regarding the nature of this person's gifts (the king) said he was not in a position to recompense greatly, and having said thus (the king) announced to his royal maternal uncle Yipungo Aanandasai the *Nongthonpa* to have these gifts listed in the *Cheitharon* and it was recorded. As (Aanatasai) also requested the king that this servant be made the *Pangan Sanglakpa*,⁷ the man was appointed the *Sanglakpa*. On that day guru's grandson Thakur Bhagtiabyas the *Puruhit* and many other Bamons along with Yipungsi Jubraj the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei and Yipungsi the *Mantri* along with the Aangoms made a

final decision at Utra (court). The matter in question (over which the final decision was made) was in relation to the case of Bamon Ramgopan who was reported to have killed his maternal uncle Ramchantra. After having inquired in the neighbourhood⁸ it was found from their mouths that Yipungo Binodram of Wangkhei had already deported (the culprit Ramgopan) to the Haos. As not enough evidence was found Ramgopan was declared clean (innocent) of the accusation. 15 Friday, there was an earthquake. 18 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June)⁹ began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, they inaugurated the temple of Shri Govindaji. They erected (a flag post) with a banner of seventeen *lams* in length. Yipungsi Mathuchantra's wife Sija the Nongthonpam maiden died. 14 Friday, an emissary from Sylhet¹⁰ arrived with six monks. 2 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. On that day the emissary from Sylhet was received at court. 25 Wednesday, as Laisom Maniram, the emissary from Takhen left, Ningthem commanded him to return and then the king told him that permission was granted for some to become settlers of Yithais. 27 Friday, there was an earthquake. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 9 Tuesday, Choithar and Haichum, these two came with two buffaloes and paid their tribute to the king. 22 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 13 Monday, the *Lakpa* of the Aahanlup (*Pana*) left to escort the Takhen emissary. 23 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 26 Sunday, Thakur Aanantram the astrologer died. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 15 Friday, the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) who escorted the Takhen emissary returned. 25 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. New moon Friday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Tinggri to hunt elephants. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, twenty-nine people arrived from Aawa. 9 Sunday, Hunapati, the Mayang emissary and Pramananda these two arrived. 11 Tuesday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei returned from his elephant hunt. 12. Wednesday, the Mayangs were received at court. 16 Sunday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for Koubru to hunt elephants. 19 Wednesday, they caught one elephant which had grown tusks and it was presented (to the king). 26 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, the Mayang emissary along with Hunapti and others left. 6 Friday, Sija Tampak had her ears pierced. 25 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei went and caught a tiger. Khoipam maiden wife of Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei gave birth to a son. 13 Sunday, Haopam Nimananda along with two people of Takhel and two from Charai returned after visiting Sylhet as emissary. 25 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The chief elephant also died. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 5 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. On that day three monks arrived from Mayang. 13 Tuesday, (a case concerning) Santhinnaokuri of Kontha, who was forbidden to be regarded as a *Kei*,¹¹ and who was made to settle at *Potsangpa* area in the days of the royal grandfather Garibniwaz was revisited; when the case was reopened by the people of *Kei* in the days of Jai Singh Maharaj, the people of *Kei* were reimbursed for their

loss of manpower for their service as servants of the state.¹² Ningthem made a ruling then that in the days to come no *Kei* nor *Potsangba* was to reopen the case and thus made them join (the family) of Mongpicham Lokhon. The ruling was made known to his royal maternal uncle Aanantasai the *Nongthonpa*, who made sure that the ruling was recorded in the *Cheitharon*. 20 Monday, the Maharaj, the Maharani and many ladies from the royal household left for a pilgrimage to the Ganges. 25 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 28 Tuesday, Hunapati the Mayang emissary arrived. New moon Thursday, six monks arrived from Takhen. 9 Sunday, as Aangom Chantramani was appointed the *Senapati*, he left for Kambiron to receive messages from Ningthem. 22 Friday, Aangom the *Senapati* returned. 25 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. New moon Saturday they made (the image of) Ramji. The month of **Lamta**¹³ (February/March) began on Sunday.

- 1 *Tengkhan*: trigger of the gun. Probably the official building where guns were housed. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Aakhan*, *Aateng* and *Aayokpa*: People in these groups were collectively known as *Phungkanai* and three Institute buildings bearing their names housed them. *Aayokpa* literally means those adopted and in this context adopted by the king.
- 3 *Kathi*: a basket measurement which gives approximately two Indian *seers* in weight for grain and cereal but is also used for dry herbal leaves or fish in certain parts of Manipur especially in areas neighbouring Cachar or Mayang. The size of basket differs from area to area.
- 4 *Yenlam*: Herbal spice. It is a small plant of the *alium* family similar to chives and has white small flower in clusters. While fresh, it is used in salads and the fresh, dried leaves and roots are used in cooking. It is essential in Chinese cuisine and is known to them as Chinese leek. Another Manipuri name for this herbal spice is *Maroi*.
- 5 *Chang*: is a basket measurement. One *chang* is half a *sangbai* basket and is equivalent to 14.93 kg approximately. *Sangbai* and *chang* measurements are used for measuring paddy, rice, and grain and *phoupot* for unhusked paddy. 1 *phoupot* = 59.72 kg. appr. = 2 *sangbai* baskets. 1 *sangbai* = 29.86kg appr. The size of baskets differs from place to place.
- 6 *Sakonhawai*: black lentil (Indian name *urad*).
- 7 *Pangan Sanglakpa*: Chief of the Pangan Institute. Pangans are Manipuri Muslims who had integrated to the Meetei social structure while keeping their religion.
- 8 *Keiroi*: either the granary hands or short for *Keroi Leikai*: people of the same *leikai* or lane, neighbours. In this context it means the neighbourhood.
- 9 The month of *Kalen* is missing.
- 10 *Sinlot*: Sylhet, present Bangladesh.
- 11 *Kei*: king's servants who work in the state granary.
- 12 *Nai Mahut Hanpa*: *Nai* servant, *mahut hanpa*: to reimburse. As one of the *Keis* had become a *Potsangpa*, the *Keis* work force was reduced while the workload remained unchanged. Hence a compensation was given.
- 13 The month of Phairen is missing.

Sakabda 1720 (1798 CE)

The year of Lairikyengpa Aaroi, Sakabda 1720 (1798 CE). 26 Wednesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu**

(March/April) began on Tuesday. 13 Saturday, sixteen people fled from Aawa. 27 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Thaniram the chief of the village of Leimanai was escorted (to his house) in style with horse, elephant, palanquin to the beating of *pungs* and playing of mouth organs. 5 Sunday, Aakoisu the wife of Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei gave birth to a prince. 6 Monday, a swarm of butterflies flew from the south to the northern direction. 7 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. 15 Tuesday, there was a lunar eclipse. As the whole sky was covered with cloud the day was declared as ritually clean¹ on the royal decree of the Jubraj Yipungsi Labanya Chandra Singh the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei. The eclipse took place at the exact time as was predicted. 24 Friday, Bamon Gurumayum Gobinram the *Hanchapa* died. 25 Saturday, they found a layered mushroom as big as a big winnowing fan growing in Mangsamkei, in the area where Khakempa's granary stood. It was collected in a palanquin and planted at the Nungjeng area (in the Kangla complex). 28 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 14 Wednesday, Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei himself went to Kumphihomestead and caught one tigress and three cubs. 23 Friday, as it was said that Kamni who was the son of Thakur Aanubananda the grandson of the guru, and Thakur Syam the *Hitang* had called out the wife of the guru (from her house) and had beaten her,² Aarupananda (Aanubananda) her husband was deported to *Loi* to Moirang. 24 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. After Ningthem had left for his pilgrimage and while the Jubraj Yipungsi Labeinyachandra (Labanyachandra) the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei was in charge of defending the country (and acting on behalf of the king), the royal order was given that Wairokpam was to make the *senpung* (a bossed gong) which the brass-smiths had failed to make and that it was to be made immediately. Seram Gourang and Yiroipam Chandramani, these two, were appointed to be in charge of the palace sentries. Senchapa Gangacharan who lived in Loupan was made to be in charge of a village. Ngaseppa Krishnatas the *Luplakpa*³ and Wungungtamayum Aanantram the *Pakhanglakpa*,⁴ Taireimayum Thoniram, Huiyam Nityananda and Ngaseppam Kukila were able to make the *senpung* as was commanded by the king. 23 Sunday, Kangkor the Takhen emissary arrived. 26 Wednesday, the Takhen emissary was received at court. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. Yingen was an intercalary month. 3 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 5 Thursday, Ramnogar the *Hanchapa* of *Tampaknai*⁵ was sent to Mayang with a message. 14 Saturday, the Sarotkhaibi maiden the wife of Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei gave birth to a princess. 28 Saturday, Yipi the Khetra maiden also gave birth to a princess. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 5 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 11 Thursday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, the Jubraj, participated in the *Hiyang Boat Race* festival and he wore the full royal head dress of *Lonlei*.⁶ The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Shri Maharaj Chingthangkomba expired at Shri Batkhetra.⁷ He reigned on the throne for forty years⁸ and during his reign the country was devastated three times. 6 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 19 Sunday, the Mayang emissary arrived with Ramnogar the *Hanchapa* of *Tampaknai*. 22 Wednesday, the Mayang

was received at court. 25 Saturday, Haopam Kumta the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) returned from Takhen. The month of *Mera* (September/October) began on Friday. 5 Monday, Thakur Bityalangkar left for the Ganges. 7 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 12 Tuesday, Sija Khyatiswari left for the Ganges. There was a lunar eclipse on full moon Friday. 18 Monday, the Khetra maiden wife of Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei, gave birth to a prince. 19 Tuesday, Yipungo the *Senapati* arrived from Aawa along with his royal mother. 26 Monday, the grandson of the guru and others left for the Ganges. The month of *Hiyangkei* (October/November) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 17 Tuesday, the news concerning Ningthem (his death) was received. From new moon Sunday there was the singing of *kirtan* for seven whole days. 8 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. On that day the Tekhao king's son also left.

- 1 The period during a lunar and a solar eclipse is regarded as ritually unclean when no religious ritual can be performed. Note the secular power of the king over the religious power of the Brahmins.
- 2 Though Aanubananda's son Kamni and the *Hitang* had beaten the Guru's wife, she is not necessarily the great-grandmother of Kamni who assaulted her, nor the grandmother of Anubananda, as polygamy was in practice. Presumably she was his young step-grandmother with whom he was having an affair.
- 3 *Lupalakpa*: scribal error for *Luplakalp*.
- 4 *Pakhanglakpa*: Official in charge of male youths. Term used for the first time.
- 5 *Hanchapa Tampaknai*: one who holds the post of *Hanchapa* over the servants of the crown prince.
- 6 *Lonlei*: royal crown in the shape of prawn's head worn only by the king mostly in state occasions, in this context, in the boat race festival. When the king participates in the boat race he stands at the prow of the boat and does not row.
- 7 'In January of (1798) Jaee Singh set out on a pilgrimage to Naddea: he travelled towards Tripura, and giving a daughter in marriage to the Rajah of that country, resumed his journey, and died near Bhagovangola, on the banks of the Ganges, in October 1799' (Capt. R.B. Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, 1835). The discrepancy on the date of the death of the king as recorded in the *Kumpapa* and Pemberton may be due to Manipur following the lunar calendar and in this case Yinga was regarded as an intercalary month. Had Yinga not been an intercalary month, the month of the king's death would have been the following month *Mera* (September/October) and not *Langpan* (August/September). But while the date of the king's departure (Wakching (December/January) of 1797. Ch.K.) agrees with Pemberton's January 1798, there is a discrepancy of almost one year on the date of the death of the king. Very likely Pemberton's informant had given the death of the king as being broadly one year after his departure which Pemberton had applied to the British calendar year.
- 8 Part of his co-regency with his brother has been counted in this forty years reign period.

MEETINGU LOIRENKHOMPA SAKABDA 1720–1722 (1798–1800 CE)

Sakabda 1720 (1798 CE)

[The year of Lairikyengpa Aaroi, Sakabda 1720 (1798 CE).] [Hiyangkei (October/November)] 10 Wednesday, Shri Maharaj Labanyachantra became king at the age of forty-four years.¹ As the palace of the *Sna Liepak* had not been in existence for the period of thirty-five years,² the king was determined that the Sna Leipak should exist again, and most of the sacred places and *lais*' groves which had been neglected, destroyed and removed earlier, were searched out throughout the land under the leadership of his royal maternal uncle Maha Sing the *Katwan* and they were established once again. 16 Tuesday, of the month of **Poinu**, they began to carry out the task of tilling the ground. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 4 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 5 Sunday, they began to build *Nonghum Sang*,³ *Mongpa sang*⁴ and the great palace, these three buildings. 13 Monday, they began to build the Kangla building. 20 Sunday, as the people were unable to drag the tree for the Kangla (building) from Chirik Konjin, even the Ningthem, his royal grandfather the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei and the whole land joined and also went to receive the tree. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 5 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 6 Friday, they began to build the royal palace. It was a three-storied building. 20 Tuesday, the Maharani and others who went to the Ganges returned. They also began to build the royal palace *Punsipa*. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday was the *Bisu Sangkranti*.⁵

- 1 'Labanyachantra became king': scribal mark at the side margin of the *P.Ms.* text. Loirenkhompa was also known as Labanyanchantra or Labanyachandra.
- 2 *Konung Snaleipak chahi thirty-five suna leiramtababu*: The palace of Sna Leipak had not been in existence for a period of thirty-five years. *Konung*: Palace, here it does not refer to the actual building but all that the palace stood for. *Sna Leipak*: The name of the country before the term Manipur was used. Thirty-five years referred here covers the whole period of the sole reign of Chingthangkhompa alias Bhagyachandra alias Jai Singh. The sentence points to the loss of the kingdom in its religious and social form under the emphatic Hinduising programme of Jai Singh. The following sentence elaborates on this. This was yet another attempt to overthrow the imposed Hinduism and re-establish the traditional belief and social customs.
- 3 *Nonghum sang*: Either a shrine or an institute relating to rain ceremony.
- 4 *Mongpa sang*: Probably the shrine at Mongpa Hanpa grove which had been destroyed in the reign of Mayampa alias Garibniwaz.
- 5 *Bisu (Pisu) Sangkranti*: for Bengali *Bhishub sangkranti*: the last day of the Bengali month of *Chaitra* which has either thirty or thirty-one days and always falls at the harvest time in Bengal. For the Hindu Meeteis of Manipur where the lunar calendar is used, this day always falls in the month of *Sachiphu*. Term is used for the first time. I have retained the spelling of *Bisu Sangkranti* as found in the *Kumpapa P. Ms. Text*.

Sakabda 1721 (1799 CE)

The year of Thoutam Khongchompa, Sakabda 1721 (1799 CE). 7 Friday (Lamta), Bamon Govindabanhop who lived by a field at Takna was killed by his servant. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, Sija Chatisori was escorted to Gurumayum Tharmasor. 7 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 16 Monday, the Choitha Haos scattered Chantrakhong and killed three people. 17 Tuesday, Aangom the *Senapati* and others left to repel them. Yipungsi Kapo Tapa also arrived from Mayang. 13 Thursday,¹ there was an earthquake. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. In the joint family of Paonam the family of the *Lakpa* of Khwai² and the family of *Keirungpa* contested over the *Pipaship*. The family of the *Lakpa* of Khwai was declared to be the rightful *Pipa*. The family of *Keirungpa* was allowed to be severed from the joint family³ and settle at Nongmeipung. 2 Wednesday, Aangom the *Senapati* and others left for Kameng to repel the raiders. 5 Saturday, the *Lakpa* of Tumu and the *Lakpa* of Pansa, these two arrived. 10 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. Full moon Monday, Meetingu Loiren Khompa occupied the palace. 22 Monday, the brave men of Kakching had a fist fight and killed each other. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 12 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 21 Tuesday, as a *Phukin*⁴ divided the land of the Mayangs, six hundred thirty-five Meetei inhabitants who settled there fled from Mayang. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. An image of Pakhangpa had been made. 11 Sunday, Ningthem gave a royal verdict and the verdict was that Kabo Lakwan who was the (official) bugler⁵ was not to play that instrument any more. In his place the bugle was to be played by one named Gourang from amongst the king's adopted⁶ and another person who was a Khongchai were to play that instrument. These two were presented to (the king) and they were made to adopt the family name of Perekhongpa and establish themselves. As for Lowan (Lakwan) it was also declared that he was not to be the (official) buglar. He had to pay one *san*⁷ of gold as the court fee and the verdict was sealed. The verdict was made known to Yumnam Gobinda the *Senlungpa* and Wahengba Brindabon the *Senlungpa* to these two and they on their part made the verdict to be inscribed (and recorded) on a copper plate by Lairikyengpa the *Hanchapa*. The king also gave another verdict that Moirang Taba was the rightful *Pipa*. 15 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 24 Sunday, Ningthem and Sija along with most of the royal ladies went to Leisangkhang to feast on fruit. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 5 Wednesday, Yipi Thiya gave birth to a princess. 16 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. New moon Sunday, Meetengu Loirenhompa began to offer a *kirtan* on the (death) anniversary of his royal father Chingthangkhopma and the *kirtan* lasted for seven days. 17 Tuesday, (the king) scattered ten lakh *sen* in the market. On that day the *Sangkranti* of Mera also began. 18 Wednesday, at all the crossroads of Khurai, Wangkhei, Khwai and Yaisakun the heads of granaries sat in office at these four areas and the astrologers gave gifts of rice. Each and everyone who came from the whole land without exception, including the frail and the suffering, was presented with rice and salt. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 17 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began.

The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 9 Saturday, Ningthem went and trapped a tiger in a *song* (enclosure) at the mouth of Langkon gorge. They looked for the tiger's haunt. As the beast also had supernatural strength and ways⁸ it took four days to trap it and two men were also killed and many more men were injured. They could not catch the tiger. But on the fifth day, Wednesday, four arrows from the king's (own quiver) hit the tiger and the tiger was caught and it was brought up. 16 Sunday, the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 28 Tuesday, Yipungo the chief Senapati left to repel the Aawas as it was reported that they came and set alight the area of Tumu. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 4 Wednesday, Yipungo the *Bara Senapati*⁹ returned after repelling the Aawas. 8 Sunday, the king of Tumu who had fled from Tumu, arrived. 13 Friday, Yipungo the *Bara Senapati* left to repel those who came to attack in the southern region. 16 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 28 Friday, they left to repel the Aawas. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, the king of Somsok came to Panlen and paid obeisance to the (Meetei) king. He also presented his daughter, a princess, (to the Meetei king). 7 Monday, (representatives) from Tagkhun, Hongtung, Yitham and Monthou, from all these places came and paid their tribute to the king at Mutukhong. 8 Tuesday, the Haos of Huining came and presented a decapitated head of a Choithar taken at battle. On that day Ningthem also returned after repelling the Aawas who came to attack the land. 10 Thursday, the daughter of Sicha Sarotkhaipi (Sarotkhaipam maiden) had her ears pierced. On that day Yokcha Na Aai (Haipi), the mother of the princess married to the king of Takhen, returned from Takhen. 16 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. Yipungo the chief Senapati returned. 20 Saturday, Sija Sarotkhaipi Tampakleima, the queen, died. The last rites were given at *manglen* the main cremation (formerly burial) ground. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, the Aakham maiden Leimakhupi fled from Aawa. Full moon Thursday, there was a lunar eclipse. 16 Thursday Yipungo Chourajit arrived.

- 1 Discrepancy on the date.
- 2 *Khwaitrakpam*: scribal error for *Lakpa* of Khwai. Khwaitrakpam is a family name.
- 3 *Khaikhiye*: past tense of *Khaipa/khaiba*: to divide, to share out. A nuclear family was allowed to branch off from the original ancestral family. The separated families become independent of each other in terms of headship (*Pipaship*) of the extended family.
- 4 *Phukin*: Obscure. Probably a corrupt form for *Phiringki* meaning British.
- 5 *Perekhongpa*: literally one who plays a bugle. Later this title was given to the official buglers and it became their family name.
- 6 *Phungka*: literal meaning 'family hearth'. This came to apply to those who were adopted by the king and who became his wards. May include those captured in battle, orphans and those children who were given to the king's custody by the parents for a better life.
- 7 One *san* of gold: $\frac{1}{4}$ of 11.664 gram, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 0.375 ounce.
- 8 *Laisasung woituna*: literally 'as the animal (tiger) also belonged to a *lai*,' meaning the tiger had supernatural strength.
- 9 *Bara Senapati*: *Bara* Bengali for big. Here the post refers to the prince who is in charge of the army. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1722 (1800 CE)

The year of Maisnam Pungthon. Sakaba 1722 (1800 CE). 17 Friday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. New moon Thursday, there was a solar eclipse even before sunrise.¹ The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 8 Friday, Ningthem left for Lansonbi to worship the *lai*. Aakoicham Aamu the canopy-bearer to the king was deported to *Loi* to Hangkun as he could not carry out his duties efficiently. 19 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 5 Thursday, Yipemma Debajani the Satpam maiden died. 22 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. All the royal ladies went to Langthapan to feast on fruit. 3 Wednesday, the Thangcham maiden was chosen² to be the Maharani. The Pungri (*Pong yi*, Burmese official) from the land of Kapo went back. 16 Monday, Ningthem left for Thangka to feast on fruit. 20 Friday Ningthem returned. 23 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 3 Sunday, Ningthem left for Gurupat lake to feast on lotus seeds. 8 Tuesday, Maharani Thangchapi gave birth to a prince. 22 Saturday, Meetengu Loirenkhompa ordered that the administration over all the servants of Sundra Govindaji, the servants of Ramji and the servants of Mahabali were to be dealt with by Thakur Nabananda and he was thus given the supervision of these temple attendants.³ 25 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of the month of Thawan began. 28 Monday, Yenkhom Gopan was made to become a resident of Yithai as it was said that he had murdered a child from the Mongpicham family.⁴ The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 27 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. Yipungsi Khuchung the *Wurungpuren* and the people from all the four *Panas* left for the source of the Yiril river to fell trees for the Kangla (building). The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. Full moon Thursday, there was a lunar eclipse. 22 Friday, a tiger was caught at Lamlongkei. 27 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. On that day Yipungsi the *Wurungpuren* returned from felling the trees. Aakoicham Aamu was summoned back from Hangkun. 3 Tuesday, (Meetei princess) the Somsok Leima died. 10 Monday, Huitrom Subon and Ngangngom Khampa these two who went to escort Sna Tarangkhompa⁵ along with his mother from Aawa arrived. (The king also) summoned back his younger brother Thongngam Mukinda from Hangkun. 19 Wednesday, Yipi Yenkhoipi gave birth to a princess. 24 Tuesday, there was a great flood and the paddy was scarce in that year. Both Sanchenthong and Menuthong bridges broke. 25 Wednesday, the elephant which was dedicated to *Lai* Snamahi died. 27 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 20 Saturday, there was an earthquake. 27 Saturday, Meetingu Loirenkhompa died. He reigned on the throne for three years and his age was forty-six years. Aangom Chantramani also died. On that day the royal younger brother Shri Mathuchandra ascended the throne at the age of thirty-six years.

1 *Leinugtaki numit*: literally while the sun was still inside the earth, meaning before sunrise.

- 2 *Hapye*: to appoint as to a post. The queen's post is filled by appointment for the first time.
- 3 The first establishment of a distinctive administrative body of the incoming religion under an immigrant.
- 4 Homicide did not carry capital punishment, but only deportation. In this case it was deportation for life.
- 5 Sna Tarangkhopa was Loirenkhopa's son by Lairenmayum maiden.

MEETINGU TAMLENKHOMBA SAKABDA 1722–1725 (1800–1803 CE)

Sakabda 1722 (1800 CE)

[**The year of Maisnam Pungthon, Sakaba 1722 (1800 CE)**]. 27 Thursday of Hiyangkei, his royal younger brother Mathuchantra became king.¹ 28 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The king appointed his royal younger brother Chourajit, the Jubraj, and his royal younger brother Marjit, the Senapati. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 4 Friday, eight men were killed including Tulasi Khunpong who came from Kapo, Rasmani the *Keirungpa*, and Maipam Chakrapani the *Hajari*, these three men, when a post at the Kangla (complex) was being uprooted. Yumna Khenlempa, Khongto, Aaheipam Nortom, Hikam Mangyampa, and his brother Khongpantapa Takhekloupa, Aobhi the conscript, and his brother, and Koichom, these nine men were taken to Suknu where they were executed. Gouramani from Kapo was executed at Khurailakpa barricade. His wife and all his children were handed to the *Pana* army that they might sell them.² All the inhabitants of Khunpong were sent to Kwakta and they were made to become *Kei*, workers attached to state granaries. 9 Wednesday, Yipungsi Kapotapa was expelled to the land of the Mayangs. 11 Friday, Sarotkhaipa the *Senlungpa* was deported to *Loi* as he was found inefficient and not carrying out his task well as a personal attendant to the king. 28 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 4 Monday, the emissary from Mayang arrived. 7 Thursday, Yipungsi Khuchung the *Wurungpuren* left for Mayang. 10 Friday, Yipi Kongkham Hitaksungpi gave birth to a prince. 23 Friday, Yipungsi Chagatananda and Haopam Kumata the *Keirungpa* these two and others repaired the Chandrakhong canal. 28 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 21 Friday, they began to build the Kangla building. 28 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 29 Friday, a man from south Sekmai had his hands cut off as it was said that he had killed his brother-in-law. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 7 Saturday, Yipungsi the Jubraj authorised the making of a double-barrelled gun.

1 'Mathuchandra became king' scribal insertion on the margin of *P.Ms.* folio. Tamlenkhomba was also known as Mathuchandra or Madhuchandra.

- 2 *Yonchahanye* from verb *yonba* to sell, or *chahanye* from verb *chaba* to eat or to enjoy the products of – as in *lou chaba* (to receive the products of the paddy field), to own. The verbal construction implies that permission was given to sell or to enjoy the object as an act of grace from the one who has authorised it.

Sakabda 1723 (1801 CE)

The year of Thangka Khunchao, Sakabda 1723 (1801 CE). 29 Sunday, the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began and on that day Yumnapa the *Senlungpa* arrived from Mayang. New moon Monday, the temple and the *mantop* of Sri Govindaji were inaugurated. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, Sija the Haopam maiden was married. 17 Thursday, Meetingu Tamlen Khomba, at the age of thirty-seven years, ascended the throne with his queen, Meetei Leima Yanglei Ngambi, the Haobam maiden. 26 Friday, a tiger was caught at Leimarok. New moon Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. That day was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 3 Friday, Yipungsi the *Lourung Puren* and others left to fetch water (for ritual purposes) from Suknu.¹ There was an earthquake on that day. The month of Kalen was an intercalary month.² One of the months of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. On that day Yibungsi the *Wurungpuren* and one *bamon* Thakur along with the (Mayang) emissary arrived. 3 Sunday, the Mayang emissary was received at court. 15 Friday, they collected water (for ritual purposes) from Langkon.³ 17 Sunday, Aangoupa Puringkhomba and Shri Sija Khuraileima Tharakngambi occupied the throne (of the Aangom clan) once again. 23 Friday, as three men were caught stealing, their legs were cut off and the legs were hung up at the four crossroads. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 4 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 14 Friday there was an earthquake. 20 Thursday, Yipungo the *Senapati* went to Phamlou and caught a tiger. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 6 Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 8 Monday, (*lai*) Mahaprabhu was escorted to Bishnupur.⁴ The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 29 Tuesday, the Mayang emissary arrived. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Thursday. 9 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 5 Monday, the Mayang emissary was received at court. 9 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 13 Monday, the Naharup and Khapham (*Panas*) left to collect *wurangpai*⁵ which was overdue. 16 Thursday, Yipi the Moirangthem maiden, wife of Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkei died. On that day the Mayang emissary also went back. 19 Sunday, the Naharup and Khapham *Panas* returned after collecting *wurangpai*. There was an earthquake on that day. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, Yipungsi Tulachit left for Shri Brindabon. 10 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 13 Wednesday, an elephant was caught at Koubru and it was presented (to the king). 16 Saturday, Thokchom Nobo the *Keirungpa* of Khapham (*Pana*) and Tensupa Nimai the *Keirungpa* of Naharup (*Pana*), these two and others, left to attack the new and the main villages of *Khaki Charoi*.⁶ 19 Tuesday, they returned. They captured in the battle two men, Kepunang from the new village and Louranang

from the main village, along with many others, a total of eighty-five people, and they were brought before (the king). 29 Tuesday, Yipungsi Marjit left for Brindabon. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Thakur Aanabananda (Anubananda) the grandson of the guru left for the Ganges with his wife and children. 5 Thursday, three tigers were caught at Wakha. 9 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 10 Tuesday, four people of the king's guard and a naked monk arrived. 23 Monday, it was reported that Yambem Haipa and Thangcham Koireng were attempting to put a pretender on the throne. When questioned further Haipa denied it. Both of them were made to take an ordeal. Haipa was found not guilty and Koireng was found not telling the truth, and for not telling the truth he was deported to *Loi* to Yithai. New moon Monday, three tigers were caught at Takna. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 9 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 9 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 22 Friday, Boryet, the *Mayang Mantri* and the *Hidang* of Hidakphanpa (Institute), these three and others, a total of two hundred and seventy-five people arrived with (dried) fish from Mayang. 24 Sunday, Katwan the sword-smith died. 25 Monday, they took the fish⁷ for the hand of the princess. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 9 Sunday was the last day of the year.

- 1, 3 Water from the rivers in Suknu and Langkon is essential for rituals performed for the welfare of the Meetei kings and the country.
- 2 *P.Ms.* has just the letter *k* for *Kalen*.
- 4 Most likely the *lai* was taken to the temple in Bishnupur. But there is no indication it is the present Bishnupur temple.
- 5 *Wurangpai*: meaning obscure.
- 6 *Khaki Charoi*: *Khaki*: Chinese. *Khaki Charoi* the people of Chinese origin who lived in Manipur.
- 7 Likely to be a gift as a prelude to asking the princess's hand in marriage. If it is the bride price, the value seems to have gone down from elephants to fish (probably dry or fermented). Manipur Hindus still enjoyed fish in all forms while meat was forbidden.

Sakabda 1724 (1802 CE)

The year of Laisram Aachou, Sakabda 1724 (1802 CE). 10 Monday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 17 Tuesday, Sicha the Mayang Leima left for Mayang. She scattered *sen* (currency coins) at the market place before her departure. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 10 Friday, there was an earthquake in the night. 12 Sunday, there was another earthquake in the night. On that day the *Sangkranti* of Yingen also began. 21 Monday, Sija the guru's wife and the Mayang emissary returned from pilgrimage. 28 Monday, as it was reported that the Mayang servants of the royal ladies were harassing the village of *Mayang Leimanai*, two people were

executed. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 15 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. There was fighting resulting in death as the servant of Yipungo the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei was stabbed by one of the servants of Aangom. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 4 Monday, Yipungo Pheirapa the son of Yipungo Loirenkhompa and Haopam the *Nongthonpa*, these two, returned after escorting the Mayang Leima. Thakur the grandson of the guru also returned from his pilgrimage. 18 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. New moon Saturday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 15 Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse. 19 Wednesday, there was a contest on seniority between the people of the two villages of Chandrakhong and Ningngen. Ningngen was declared the senior of the two villages. As Shri Panchajukta Maharaj made his royal verdict known to Wahengpa Brandabon and Yenkhom Gourang the *Senlungpa*, these two entered the decree in the *Cheitharon*. 20 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 25 Tuesday, Haopam Sija's elder brother Khebananda arrived from Sylhet. On that day as it was said that one of the servants of the family of Kumapam had killed the lady of the house, the servant was executed at Hoitropi. 26 Wednesday, Yipemma the wife of the *Nongthonpa* gave birth to a son. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. 5 Saturday, Yipungsi Chourajit the Jubraj left. 2 Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 20 Sunday, Thakur the guru's grandson and Thokchao Keirungpa, these two arrived. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 8 Thursday, Yirom Rasman had Siamese twins born to him who had one head, four hands and two bodies. 20 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 20 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Phairen** (January/February)¹ began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, they began to make bricks. 20 Sunday, the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. On that day a complaint was lodged to the king by the relatives of Gotathor from Kapo against Gotathor and his descendants who were exempted² from the compulsory duty to the state by Maharaj Jai Singh in the year of Sekmai Munga. But it was once again endorsed in the reign of his royal son saying that it was not the done thing to alter the decree of his royal father and the ruling was recorded in the *Cheitharon*. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Hemnam Khenlananda, a relative and lover³ of the daughter of Pongsumpa the *Hanjapa* of pot smoking, was killed by (Hanchapa's) servants and his body was thrown in the river. 8 Wednesday, the two servants who had committed the murder had both of their eyes plucked out at Sanchenthong bridge. Pongsumpa was dismissed from his post and he was also given the Hindu cleansing rite. His daughter was made to become a resident of *Sangsang* dormitory. One of the servants was made to become a permanent resident of Yithai. 19 Monday was the last day of the year.

1 The month of Wakching is missing.

2 *Khutkongpipa*: *khut*: descendants, from the same parentage, line or *kongpiba*: to be freed. Exemption from the compulsory duty to the state.

- 3 *Marinpa*: A conflation of two words: *mari* relative, *npa* from *nipa*, husband or lover. Any forbidden relationship was unthinkable in the Meetei traditional society. This was also upheld after the advent of Hinduism.

Sakabda 1725 (1803 CE)

The year of Yenkhom Khungam, Sakabda 1725 (1803 CE). 20 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. On that day they started to dig the pool at the new palace at Langthapan. 7 Thursday, they also began to build the brick wall. 22 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 8 Sunday, Thonlang Leima was presented (to the king as a wife). 2 Friday, Yipungsi Khaba the *Lakpa* of Yaiskun and the Mayang emissary arrived together. 25 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 25 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 8 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Setka. 29 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began 19 Monday, Muktram the Mayang emissary arrived. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. The *Sangkranti* of that month also began on that day. The first day of the lunar month also was an intercalary day. 3 Monday, Haopam Khema Sing the *Lakpa* of Khwai, the Mayang emissary and the *Hanchapa* of horse grooms left (for Mayang). The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. That day the *Sangkranti* of that month also began. 13 Friday, at the *Sansenpa* scene¹ during the two performances of *Ras* play² the bridge at Menuthong broke and most of the male voice choir members fell in the water and two lost their lives. 2 Wednesday, the king's personal chief elephant ran away and pursued a female elephant. 26 Thursday, Aangom Biramani the *Wurungpuren* returned from the Ganges. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. On that day the *Sangkranti* of HiYangkei also began. 6 Sunday, Yipi³ the servant of Samnom died. 10 Thursday, the king's personal chief horse was crowned.⁴ 22 Saturday, a commotion took place in Tampakyum the Jubraj's residence as it was discovered that cartridges were being taken (from the palace) to the hills. All those involved were deported to *Loi*. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday and the *Sangkranti* of that month also began on that day. 15 Monday, Chongtham Khunling the *Hajari* and others left to raid Tousang. Longcham Loma, Mayanglampam Balaram and Ngungmu Kantep, these three and others, a total of seven people, lost their lives. 18 Saturday, they returned after attacking Tousang. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. The *Sangkranti* also began on that day. 15 Thursday, the stone in Lamham mound which had fallen and was laying on the ground was found in the erect position and it was considered to have done so by itself. 25 Monday, the Maharaj, Govindaji and most of the people went down to Langthapan. The new wall was dedicated to Shri Govindaji. Haopam Khema the *Lakpa* of Khwai also arrived from Mayang. New moon Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/

February) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, Chingngakham the *Mantri* was deported to *Loi* to Sekta. 4 Wednesday, the Aahanlup Institute building was set on fire. 9 Sunday, the younger royal brother Chourajit the Jubraj returned from Mayang. He became king at the age of twenty-seven years. His royal elder brother Tamlenkhonpa left for Mayang. He reigned on the throne for three years.

- 1 *Sansenpa*: literal meaning: to look after the cattle. In the *sansenpa* scene the act of the cowherd *Krishna* killing Kansa, the wicked mythical king, with the help of *Krishna*'s brother Balaram is played out. In present day Manipur *Ras* play this scene is not included. Emphasis is given to the love relation of the young *Krishna* with his many young girls including some who are portrayed as married.
- 2 Two *Ras*: probably either two scenes of the performance or two groups of participants. *Ras*: for *Ras Lila*. Manipuri Meetei Hindu dance, based on the traditional Manipuri *Lai Haraoba*, depicting the Hindu mythology of *Krishna* as the cowherd and his play with his many milkmaids.
- 3 Either *Yipi* was a name or probably one of the many concubines of one of the kings who, facing misfortune, had become a servant.
- 4 *Avisek*: for *Avishek*, Sanskrit, meaning coronation of the king.

MEETINGU PHALONG WAIRANG PAMHEIPA SAKABDA 1725–1735 (1803–1813 CE)

Sakabda 1725 (1803 CE)

[The year of Yenkhom Khungam, Sakabda 1725 (1803 CE). The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. 9 Sunday, the royal younger brother Chourajit the Jubraj returned from Mayang and at the age of twenty-seven years became king.]¹ 12 Wednesday, Haopam Kumta the *Nongthonpa*, his son Khema the *Hajari* of the *Keithen Lakpas*,² Khaithipa Thani the *Keirungpa*, Loitongpa Hari the *Satwan*³ and Soupam the *Satwan*, all of them were deported to *Loi*. 25 Wednesday, they began to build the Aahanlup Institute building. 28 Thursday, they also began to build a temple called Nabaraton. On that day Shri Panchajukta Meetingu Phalok Wairang Pamheipa⁴ gave the royal order that the *Cheitharon* was getting too big and so a section on his reign should be written on its own. This was conveyed to the astrologer Thakur Krishnananda and Aangom Cha Biramani, to these two. 19 Sunday, a young man of the Yumnam family from Moipunglokpam died while raiding Khongphen.⁵ The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday and the *Sangkranti* also began on that day. 5 Friday, As Ningthem had given the order to Huirongpa Dasananda, white sugar was produced. 17 Wednesday, Ningthem went down and inaugurated the Aahanlup (*Pana*) Institute building. 22 Monday, Ningthem went to worship Chingthang. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) was an intercalary month.

- 1 Phalong Wairang Pamheipa was also known as Chourajit. Scribal insertion on the margin of *P. Ms.* folio 344, 'Chourajit became king. This was not an alternate kingship

by agreement between brothers as was the case between Chingthangkhopma and his elder brother Marampa. There was fighting between these two brothers the following year.

- 2 *Keithen Lakpa*: in charge of a market. Term used for the first time.
- 3 *Satwan*: Officer.
- 4 *Phalok Woirang Pamheipa*: Reign name for the king. Editorial note *P. Ms.* text. p. 345 as 'Phalong Wairang Pamheipa'. Probably Phalok and Phalong were interchangeably used.
- 5 *Khongphen*: either a place name or a verb, meaning hand to hand combat in battle.

Sakabda 1726 (1804 CE)

The year of Yirom Khoipa, Sakabda 1726 (1804 CE). The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. That day was the also the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 2 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began. 3 Friday, temple Noboraton was inaugurated. 5 Saturday, Brum (Prum for Purum) Haochong was allowed to settle in Chirang. 12 Saturday, the inhabitants of Samupan were gathered together. 14 Monday, the *Hanchapa* of Samupan was deported to *Loi* to Kameng with his wife and children. One of his sons was deported to Kakching. On that day Krapa the servant of a Pamon came with the intention of deceiving (the king), but as Haopam Aaviram had alerted the king to the truth he was detained. Aangom Tulasimani detained him with the help of those in the Institute of Builders. 17 Friday, Haopam the *Nongthonpa* the father of Sicha was made to take the fire ordeal.¹ The fire did not burn. 18 Saturday, Krapa the servant of the Bamon (Pamon) had his legs cut off by Sanchenthong bridge. After that he was deported to *Loi* to Suknu with his wife. Toya of Moirangmayum family was deported to *Loi* to Kakching. Leiamokpam Chantra was deported to *Loi* to Khunou. 24 Friday, Ningthem went to Wurup and caught a tiger. On the following day Saturday, Ningthem himself displayed the *keiyang thekpa*² and killed a tiger by breaking its spine in public at the Moirampa market place. There were tussles with the tiger. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 5 Monday, news was received that Meetengu Tamlenkhompa with (Bamon) Aagya Khongnang along with others and Telangka, had set out from Mayang to attack (and reclaim the throne).³ 7 Wednesday, Phuritsapa the *Khunlakpa* was deported to *Loi* to Yiharai as it was said that he had beaten the king's bodyguard. 22 Monday, Ningthem Chourachit Maharaj along with his younger brother Marchit, set off and stayed at the *Mantop* of Govindaji. 13 Tuesday, Ningthem halted at the shrine of *Lairemma* at Hiyangthang⁴ and performed a *jagya* (Hindu religious rite). The Jubraj along with the people of the four *Panas* encamped at Mayang Keinou. 14 Wednesday, as news was received that Meetengu Tamlenkhompa had reached Samupan, Ningthem marched for Mayang Keinou immediately. From Keinou the kin, with his royal younger brother, entered the village of Samupan and fighting took place. They fought for a whole *yuthak* period and Meetingu Tamlenkhompa (and his men) were routed.⁵ Yipungo Modan Sai also died. Bamon Aagya Khongang, the Commander of the Mayang army, Balaram Singh from Telangka, these two, and others, a total of 100 people were taken dead and another

600 alive, a grand total of 700 people were captured. They also took one cannon made of bell metal and another made of iron, fifty of Ramjang variety,⁶ 148 of *Khutong* (variety),⁷ 100 *Kabakthang* swords⁸ and 100 round shields, as booty. 22 Thursday, Ranjit, the horse, was crowned (as the king's personal chief horse). 24 Saturday, Thingkom Murari along with the king's guard were sent to Mayang as emissaries. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 6 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. 20 Thursday, they began to build Wankon (birth-house) and Utra building. 21 Friday, Aangom Cha Biramani left to establish a village at Kapo. 25 Monday, a figure of a lion was built in front of the Utra building. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, Yumnam Aanoupa and the *Phungkanai*, these two, along with Aangom Tulasimani and Woinam Balaram, these two, and others planted mango trees from the front of the Utra building up to the royal palace gate. The four *Panas* planted pupil trees from the royal palace gate up to the market place. 8 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 13 Wednesday, Thingkom Niranjon the chief *Phourungpa* of the Leimanai area was deported to *Loi* to Yiharai as it was said that he had beaten his mother. 23 Friday, they inaugurated the Utra building. Full moon Sunday, there was a lunar eclipse. 25 Sunday, a tiger was caught in Waiton. 28 Wednesday, the people of Suknu caught a tiger. 29 Saturday, residents of *Mayang Leimanai*, the servants to the queen, caught three tigers and they were presented (to the king). The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, the Haos of Huining stole the image of Shri Brindabon Chantra from the residence of Sija the royal sister-in-law. 9 Tuesday, some people who had fled from Aawa arrived. 9 Thursday⁹ the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 13 Sunday, the Haos of Huining came and presented the image of Shri Brindabon Chantra. 22 Monday, as it was reported that Bamon Syamsundor and Bamon Brajamuhon had a brawl, Syamsundor was deported to *Loi* to Yairipok. 25 Thursday, Shri Brindabon Chantra was moved to *Tampakyum* the Jubraj's residence. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Aangom Biramnai returned after establishing a new village at Kapo. 9 Thursday, the waters in the Yirin and Imphal rivers flowed red. 10 Friday, Thingkom Murari returned from Mayang after his trip as the emissary. 11 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 20 Monday, Nanteipa Khunling the *Keirungpa* of Laipham (*Pana*), Thokchao Tulasiram the *Keirungpa* of Khapham (*Pana*), Aoina Bira Sing the *Keirungpa* of Naharup (*Pana*), Lisram and Syamram the *Keirungpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*), these four, and others from the four *Panas*, left for Koubru to fell trees for both the Kangla and the great palace buildings. Likmapa Tupon the *Senlungpa* of the *Phungkanai* Institute and Supharam the *Senlungpa* of the *Meitan Keisangpa* (guards), these two and others, left for the area near the source of the Yirin river. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 11 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 26 Monday,¹⁰ they began to build the birth-house (for the reigning queen). They also began to build *Nonghum* and *Mongpa* buildings. Khumanthem Chakhompa the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) died. 2 Sunday,¹¹ Ningthem made Aanoupa of Yimnam family, Sachung Ngampa the *Senlungpa* and others, all the inhabitants of Yumnam, drag the main ridge beams of the apex roof for the Kangla building which was seventeen *lams* each in length. 5 Wednesday,

Bamon Khampa along with the granary hands from Tangkham felled the *Leihao* tree¹² from Singloumaru and it was used as the foundation pillar of the Kangla building. On that day Wahengpa the *Hajari* along with the people of the Phungkanai Institute left for Chirik Konchin to fell trees. 10 Monday, they began to build the royal palace, the Kangla building, the great palace, *Leikhomsang* building, the bath house, the temple of Shri Govindaji and Dance Institute building, these seven buildings. 12 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. Saturday full moon, they made the *Phampan Thang*, the enthronement sword. 19 Wednesday, as it was said that Yipungsi Yimchaongampa and Yipungsi Jatu had a brawl, Yipungsi Jatu was deported to *Loi* to Moirang. 28 Thursday, Sija Jayintra returned from her pilgrimage along with Khutling the *Sakon Senpa Hitang* and the Mayang emissary. On the following day Friday, those who left for Koupru to fell trees also returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 6 Saturday, the Mayang emissary was received at court. 7 Sunday, they began to make the throne.¹³ 8 Monday, Yipungsi the Jubraj went to Heipok Phumlou Konjin and caught a tiger. 12 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. Full moon Sunday they began to build the canopy (for the king). 17 Tuesday, Panlikram the *Mayang Lampu* and the Mayang emissary left. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday, the king moved from the Khwai village to the main palace building. On that day they started the religious rites¹⁴ for the king's enthronement ceremony. Ngairangpa Shri Ram the *Senlungpa* also arrived, after they had performed the rites in a procession led by horses and elephants, with the beating of *pungs* and blowing of bugles to invoke *Lai Puthipa* in the Mongpi mountain to descend¹⁵ (and be present at the enthronement ceremony). They also introduced the *Nabot* tune in the beating of the *pungs* (drums) from that day onwards. 12 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. On that day, Meetengu Phanlok Wairang Pamheipa sitting at the *Men* enthronement seat at the Kangla (complex), and the Laisram maiden Thongnang Lanthapi, the Meetei queen sitting in the courtyard of the great palace behind a screened enclosure, the two sitting facing each other, ascended the throne together. They were made to bathe with the water collected by 108 Bramahan (Brahmin) virgins. Salt was presented as a (*daksina*) gift for the services rendered. Mayang Kunjadas who had brought some water from Radhakunda (Brindaban) also joined the festival after the enthronement had taken place.¹⁶ He was rewarded with one *pari* (2.5 acres) of paddy field (for the water he brought). The field was in the region of Toupun and the exact location of the field was by *Tengngarapat* (lake). Originally the field belonged to (*Lai*) Aapengnga. 13 Sunday, all the Bramahons who had taken the sacred thread were served with *pholar*.¹⁷ They were also presented one silver piece¹⁸ each as a gift. 15 Tuesday, the whole country, including all the nobles and the brave men, without leaving out any, were given a feast with rice. The *Beishnaps* and the *Beirakis* were also served *tan*¹⁹ and were given a gift of one silver piece each. 16 Wednesday, Khetra the cannon gunner, all the soldiers from the established army institutes, the battalions from each of the *Leikais*, and the *Phungkanai* were given a feast of rice. 18 Friday, Ningthem sitting in front of the royal palace gate distributed gifts of rice, salt, fish, cooked rice and other edibles to all those who were frail and suffering. 19 Saturday, the Maharaj riding on an elephant

entered the middle of the market and scattered pieces of gold, silver, copper, brass, tin, copper, lead mixed with the *sen* (coins). Many people collected them. 26 Saturday, Khumukcham Wutom the *Hajari*, Khuraicham Gopan the *Hajari*, and Thokchom Veigya the *Hajari*, these four²⁰ and others with the army from the four *Panas* blocked the course of Thanghutwa river in the palace complex. On that day, Manlom the *Hajari*, Satpam Chatra, Loukrakpam Brandabon, Khaitem Purna Sing, and Taimacham Thoni, these four²¹ and others, filled the river's course beginning from Nasang Keiren in Manlom up to Sangkai Punsipa, and people walked on it and used it as a road. 27 Sunday, they began to repair the old brick wall. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, from Tumu: Chouhairung Sangmanik; from Takhen: Mungsam Cham, Aathoksiri, Chohinglapai, Chohinglakham; from Aaru: Thamung, Chehersenghom, Cheresampeng; from Kontong: Thamung Sangngi, Takhen Sompma; from Mangsa: Thamung Chohairung; from Chonai: Thamung, Wuktama, Cholailasei; from Songsuk: Sungcho Hingmakem; and Sekmu Thamung these two; from Pansa: Takhen, Chere; from Khamit: Kanheitum; from Phitup: Kanhai; from Woktong: Chao hailathon, and Chere; all these (heads of) villages from these eleven areas, which had not been subjugated and had not paid tribute for the last forty-one years, came along with their tributes in the reign of Meetingu Wairang Pamheipa while he was at Lakhong and they offered their tribute payments in gold, silver and other articles and paid obeisance to the king. Aangom Cha Biramani was given free land for his role in this negotiation. 9 Friday, Yipungsi Marjit the Jubraj was married to Thokchom maiden Chukeswari the *Tampak Leima* at the palace and the king initiated the wedding. They were escorted immediately (to the Jubraj's residence). 10 Saturday, Puringkhompa the Chief of Aangom died. 12 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 20 Monday, they made a garden in the area where *Lansang* (the army barracks) stood, which was by two beautiful pupil trees growing opposite each other. 21 Tuesday, Thokchao the *Lakpa* of Khapham (*Pana*) left to repair the road to Mayang (Cachar road). 27 Tuesday, Purnaswar the grandson of Thakur, who was the grandson of the guru, abducted Sicha Tulho, the daughter of Ningthem Tamlen Khompa, and ran away to Mayang Ningthounai, where the Mayang servants of the king were settled. 29 Thursday, they said farewell to the Kapos. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 3 Thursday, they began to build the stable. 8 Friday, Aangom Cha Biramani the *Senlungpa* was appointed the chief of Aangom. They also came to know where the image of Shyam, which belonged to Lairikyengpa Tanchangpa and which had been lost, was. 12 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 17 Sunday, Aanubananda the grandson of the guru dug his own salt mine at Waikhong. As it was wished by Ningthem, Yimnam Sachung Ngampa the *Senlungpa* along with the granary hands of Sekmai, bored seven salt wells (for Aanubananda).²² 21 Thursday, they bade farewell to the Mayang emissary. 25 Monday, Thokchao Lanhampa the *Hajari* was sent as an emissary and he went along with the Mayang (emissary). Yipungsi Nanda also was sent to distribute gold and silver to each of the sacred places and shrines of the *Lais*, to mark the enthronement of the king. 27 Tuesday, Tousang, Nungnang, Khuncharok Khunou, Wukoklom, Tamlok, Kambiron, Manloktai, and Khongnagkhun, these eight Hao

villages came and offered their tribute payment to Ningthem. 28 Friday, as Ningthem was on his way to take a sacred immersion at Chengkoi (at the Nongmaiching mountain), on an elephant's back, and while he was crossing the Yirin river, the *howdah* became displaced. But the king riding on the bare back of the elephant pulled up the howdah as it began to lean on one side and it did not fall (in the river). Laisrapa Khutlong the *Hitang* of elephant hands was dismissed from his post. New moon Saturday, Pukhranpam Naoibi the *Hanjabi* (wife of the *Hanjaba*) of the Boat House died. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, Satpam Rupa the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*), Thokchom Noba the *Lakpa* of Khapham (*Pana*), these two along with the people of Yimu and Yithou left for Mayuron to drag down the fast barge. 13 Thursday was the last day of the year.

- 1 *Meita sakhi touye*: made to take the ordeal by fire. How this was carried out is not clear. *Sakhi* for *Sakhyi*: Bengali for witness. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *keiyang thekpa*: literally to break the spine of the tiger by hand. It is a display of strength and skill of the performer. Only a spear is used and only the challenger faces the tiger. There are other legends also where rival contestants for the hand of a princess were chosen after making them take up such challenges.
- 3 With the involvement of Mayang Brahmins the land of Mayang was the hotbed for scheming in the power struggle for any dissatisfied Manipuri prince.
- 4 *Hiyangthang Lairemmeta*: At the shrine of *Lairemma* at Hiyangthang: this shrine was the guardian *Lai* of Hiyangthang. After Hinduisation it became the cave of Kali/Durga, the Hindu goddesses for a time. Now it is shared between the Traditionalists and the Hindus.
- 5 *Thire*: for *maithire*, defeated. Alternative reading: it could also be read as 'he died' if the sentence is read in conjunction with the following sentence '*Madan Saisung siye*: Madan Sai also died (in the battle)'.
- 6 Obscure.
- 7 *Khutong*: Obscure. Probably hand-guns.
- 8 *Kabakthang*: Broad, short swords.
- 9–10 Discrepancy on the date.
- 11 Month of Mera is missing.
- 12 *Leihao*: Tree of the magnolia family which could grow very tall and has small flowers. The flower has very strong scent, either deep marigold or pale yellow in colour. Young girls tie it with a strand of their long hair, older women wear it on their *samji* (bun) and elderly women and men on their ears.
- 13 *Singhasan*: Bengali for throne: there is no tradition that thrones were made for each enthronement ceremony. It is very likely that the seat of enthronement was lost during the devastation by the Aawas. This might have been the case also with the special sword used at this occasion as the making of a new one is recorded above.
- 14 *Athibasi*: for Adibasi, Bengali meaning original, old. Used here either to indicate non-Hindu indigenous religious rites or the very first section of any rite.
- 15 *Thintharupa*: From verb *thinba*: to escort. In this context, an invocation to the *Lai* to descend from his abode to the place of the enthronement ceremony.
- 16 The traditional Meetei enthronement rite has been modified by this addition of extraneous Hindu elements. The name of the king is yet again spelt differently, Phanlok in place of Phalok.
- 17 *Pholar*: for *phola*. Soaked flattened rice mixed with milk and molasses.

- 18 *Lupa*: either Rupee coin or silver pieces. Probably the latter since Manipur was not using Indian Rupee currency at this time.
- 19 *Tan*: Plain dough of pure white flour, or mixed with brown wheat flour, and water, and which has been rolled out as a pancake, and deep fried in either purified butter or oil.
- 20–21 Discrepancy by one person.
- 22 *Hukpiramye*: *Hukpa*: to bore a well, suffix *piramye* implies that this was done as an act of kindness, in this case granted by the king.

Sakabda 1727 (1805 CE)

The year of Moirang Panloi, Sakabda 1727 (1805 CE), Chantrapta¹ 1017. 14 Friday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. On that day the racing barge for Laipham (*Pana*) arrived. 15 Saturday, the racing barge for Khapham (*Pana*) arrived. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 14 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 10 Friday, Yipungsi the Senapati left to attack Chepung. 15 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 27 Monday, swarms of butterflies from the western land flew to the eastern direction. They flew for three whole days. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Monday, Shrijut Maharaj Phalok Wairang Pamheipa married one Woinam maiden. On the same day Aangom Tulasimani the *Senlungpa* and the daughter of the royal elder brother Yipungo the Senapati were married. 17 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen and it was the first *Sangkranti*. 27 Tuesday, Sija who was married to the Chingngakhm family died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. From that day onwards the price of one measure of salt (hundred salt cakes) was one *sen* and the price held for the whole year. 19 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 25 Tuesday, a tiger was caught at Chingkon. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 21 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 13 Sunday, Syam Hari, a monk from Mayang, led a party with a man who claimed to be Ningthem's son Deba Sai together with the army of the four *Panas*, which was engaged in making salt; and they marched to attack the palace with *huitem*² and spade handles as their weapons. Their attempt failed and he (the monk) was captured and killed. Soupa the *Satwan* was also cross-examined. 22 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 10 Sunday, Shrijut sent Nanteipa the *Keirungpa*, who was in charge of establishing new villages, to Kapo, to find out more concerning Nabatar, a daughter of Mangtra the king of Kapo. 23 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 22 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, three tigers were caught in the area of Hiyang. 22 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, they began to build the royal palace at Langthapan. 9 Thursday, they began to build Shri *Jilaisang* building. 23 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta

began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 23 Friday was the last *Sangkranti*³ of Lamta.

- 1 *Chantrapta*: Alternative spelling of *Chandrapta*, Kangleipak Era which was started in the reign of Chingthangkhompa alias Jai Singh. See Introduction, Vol. 1, for further details. Note the double dating.
- 2 *Huitem*: *tem*, the short form is often used. A heavy smooth wooden tool of approximately forty to forty-five inches in length and five to six inches in width with a thick ridge at one side and a thin edge at the other, used in loin loom weaving to beat the thread from the shuttle in the weave weft wise into the warp of the weave. Term used for the first time.
- 3 *Sangkranti Aarompa*: *Aarompa*: meaning obscure. Probably last.

Chandrapta 1018 [Sakabda 1728 (1806 CE)]

The year of Hera of Thangka, Chantrapta 1018¹ [Sakabda 1728 (1806 CE.)] 24 Saturday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, they began to build a market in Keinao. 24 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 26 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 24 Thursday, the Aawa emissary was received at court in Kangla. 28 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday and it was the second day of the lunar month. It was also an intercalary month.² The following day, Friday, which was the first day of the lunar month was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 10 Saturday, two suns were seen.³ The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 24 Monday, Meinam Nongthonpa died. 3 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Monday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 4 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began Tuesday. 4 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 9 Wednesday there was a strong gale and the top section of a twenty-one *lam* high roof of a temple was blown off. 22 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. 28 Monday, Yipungsi Marjit the Jubraj fled to Aawa at the time when the position of the constellations was low in the sky.⁴ The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 3 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 21 Thursday, Yipungsi the Jubraj came back from Kapo and they fought in a field at Kakching. 22 Friday, they marched up from Samurou and they fought. 23 Saturday, they encamped at Tampakyum the Jubraj's home stead and fought for four days. 27 Wednesday, Yipungsi the Jubraj left for Aawa. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 3 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 5 Thursday, the Aawa emissary arrived. 6 Friday, the Aawa emissary was received at court. 7 Sunday, all those who were captured in the battle were allowed to return to Aawa by Shri Maharaj and they were also given a ration of rice and other edibles for the journey. 13 Friday, the Aawa Leima was escorted (to

Aawa) immediately. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began Tuesday. 3 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 19 Friday, monk Siton Dasa left for Aawa. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. 3 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began.

- 1 Only the Chantrapta dating is used.
- 2 *Molamas*: Bengali term has replaced the Manipuri term *tha ani sui*, intercalary. Bengali term used for the first time.
- 3 *Numit ani thokye*: literally two suns appeared. *Numit*: sun also used for day. *Ani*: two. *Thokye*: past tense of *thokpa*: to appear or to be seen. Obscure.
- 4 *Nakhyatra bisadta*: for Bengali *Nakhyatra bischad*: *Nakhyatra*: sidereal of the constellation, *bischad*: low, *ta* post-position at, when. When the sidereal constellations were low in the sky. The scribe has improvised the nasal sound *khy* for the loan word *Nakhyatra*. The letter is used for the first time.

Chantrapta 1019 [Sakabda 1729 (1807 CE)]

The year of Yenkopka Syamram, Chantrapta 1019 [Sakabda 1729 (1807 CE)].
 4 Sunday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, the temple was inaugurated. 5 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 10 Sunday, the royal palace was inaugurated. Full moon, Thursday, there was a lunar eclipse. 26 Tuesday, the Aawa emissary arrived. New moon Saturday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 8 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. Yipungsi the *Lourungpuren* left to establish Samu market. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began Monday. 10 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 13 Friday Nongthonpi gave birth to Sija, a royal daughter. 24 Wednesday, Thingkwa also gave birth to a Sija, a royal daughter. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 12 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 15 Tuesday, a cannon was cast for the *Hidakphu Phanpa*. 17 Thursday, the river burst its bank by Lichakang. 22 Tuesday, a cannon was cast for the Khapham (*Pana*). The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. On that day Soukaichampa the emissary to Aawa died. 10 Friday, a cannon was cast for the Aahanlup (*Pana*). 13 Monday, Shrijut Maharaj feasted with all the nobles and the brave men, and fish and fruit were served.¹ 14 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 22 Thursday, Nanteipa Khuling the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) returned after escorting the Aawa Leima. The *Hanchapa* of horse grooms also returned. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Friday. 14 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Wednesday, a cannon for the Lipham (*Pana*) was cast. 14 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 26 Wednesday, the emissary from Somsok arrived. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 2 Saturday, Yipungsi Kantha left for Mayang. 15 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 16 Tuesday, Bamon Yipungnao left for Mayang. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 14 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of

Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 6 Friday, Yipungsi Kantha who went to Mayang returned. 13 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 10 Monday, they began to build the great palace. On that day *Bamon Hanchapa* died. 13 Thursday, all the people of the country left for the source of the Yirin river to fell trees. 14 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 16 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began.

- 1 *Nga cha, hei cha neiyē: Nga cha:* literally ate fish, *hei cha nieyē:* ate fruit, suffix to *cha* understood as repeat to both the *cha*, the shortened form of *chaba* to eat, *chaneiyē:* ate together, past tense of *chanaba:* to eat together.

Chantrapta 1020 [Sakabda 1730 (1808 CE)]

The year of Yumnam Aarok, Chantrapta 1020 [Sakabda 1730 (1808 CE)].¹ 25 Friday, the whole land dug a pool in Takyen. Wednesday full moon² of *Kalen*, Shri Aangoupampa Biramani and Sija Wujaswari ascended the throne (of Aangom). Yipungsi the Jubraj went to the king of Aawa and told him of the disagreement between him and his brother. The king of Aawa told him to be on good terms with his brother and to be reconciled; he (the Jubraj) made his return journey. But immediately on his way he collected all the army which had been attacking the Haos in the northern area and made an army camp at Khuteipan [and fought]. When he was not victorious after fighting for one whole month, he left by way of the land of Mayang and reached Aawa.

- 1 Scribal note 1729 above the Chandrabda year 1020 and also for the following years; in the *P. Ms.* Probably it indicates the *sakabda* year but it does not correspond with the correct year and may refer to the previous *sakabda* year. To avoid confusion I have kept the correct sequence in the following *sakabda* dates though these are not in the text.
- 2 *Purnima:* Bengali term for full moon in place of *Thanin* is used. This Bengali term is used for the first time.

Chandrapta 1021 [Sakabda 1731 (1809 CE)]

The year of Leisangthem Kharam, Chantrapta 1021 [Sakabda 1731 (1809 CE).] 28 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 3 Tuesday, the pool in Chingmeirong was inaugurated. It was named *Ningthem Mamasija*. The pool was also called *Baishnopi Gangga* as it was dug by Shri Maharani the Chingngakham maiden before she left for Shri Brandabon. 9 Monday, Shri Maharaj established a new Institute of Astrology in order to encourage competition in the profession. 20 Thursday, Shri Mamasija left for Bridabon. She died in Brindaban. 28 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of *Kalen*. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, there was a strong

gale. Many houses were destroyed. 13 Saturday, Yipemma Aapanpi from Khunpong gave birth to prince Trabhubonjit. 21 Saturday, there was an earthquake.¹ 29 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. Yinga was an intercalary month. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 7 Tuesday the *Hitaksungpa* Institute² building caught fire. 14 Monday, a meteorite appeared.³ The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 2 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 3 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, they left to build a *song* (enclosure) at north Nongtamyi to trap elephants. 5 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. 13 Thursday, Shrijut Maharaj Meetingu Wairang Pamheipa along with all the members of the male voice choir of the four Leikais left for Koubru to hunt elephants. 22 Sunday, they returned from the elephant hunt. 28 Saturday, they left to build another *song* (enclosure) to trap elephants. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 7 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 28 Saturday, Yipungsi Muchukunta died. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, four tigers were caught at Kokchai. 7 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 14 Monday, Yipungsi Kantha died. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, Pamon the Senapati died. 7 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 23 Saturday, Mahasoï Thakur left. 7 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 5 Thursday, the *Patcha Hanpa* who was in charge of the *Patcha* (Institute),⁴ along with all the *Chatchas* (officers)⁵ were flogged. 15 Saturday, they performed a Hindu rite and all the *Pibas* of the whole country were made to immerse in the river at the Paonam anchoring place. 25 Tuesday, the Kharis of Kapo who came to pay their tribute (to the king) arrived. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 7 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began.⁶

- 1 *Bhumikampa*: Bengali for earthquake, loan word used for the first time.
- 2 *Hitak sungpa*: to make medicine. Traditional herbal medicine and physicians were well established and still have a great role in dealing with various forms of ailments.
- 3 *Sangaisen*: Another term for meteorite.
- 4 *Patcha*: *Patcha* Institute dealt with lakes and its products. There was also the *Patcha* Court which dealt with *Sageis* and *Salais* (clans and extended families) as well as cases where women, including women from the royal families, were involved. Probably refers to the latter because of the following sentence in which all the male heads of the extended families were ordered to undergo a Hindu ritual cleansing rite. Meaning is obscure.
- 5 Scribal error for *Patcha*, referring to those who had the sole right over the products of specific lakes, for a set period, which formerly were not restricted. Term used for the first time.
- 6 The months of *Poinu*, *Phairen* and *Lamta* are missing.

Chandrapta 1022 [Sakabda 1732 (1810 CE)]

The year of Thongpam Gourang, Chandrapta 1022 [Sakabda 1732 (1810 CE)]. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 25 Thursday, Yimnam

Aarok the *Lakpa* of Sanglen died. 8 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. On that day, the Aawa emissary arrived. 5 Thursday, Bishu (Bishnu) was enthroned. On that day, Aangom maiden Wujeswari was escorted to her parental home. 8 Sunday, the river burst its banks.¹ 10 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. 15 Sunday once again the river burst its banks. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, Baji Krishna Das died. 6 Sunday, Yipungsi Debraj died. 13 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 16 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 4 Monday, there was a very heavy fall of hailstones. 17 the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. On that day the Haos were made to have a boat race and the Marings won the race. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 18 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 18 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 29 Sunday, swarms of locusts flew from the direction of Moirang (south west) towards Chingkhei (north-east direction) for five whole days. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, a palace was built at Tentongyan. 17 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 18 Friday, Aoina Aapanpi gave birth to a prince. On that day Yaikhupa Pakra died. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 6 Monday, Shri Maharaj went down to Tentongyan. 17 Friday, the *Lampu* was killed² in the main village of Yitok. 18 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 17 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. 17 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday.

- 1 *Hunkhaiye*: scribal error for *phunkhaiye*, from verb *phunkhaiba*, to break through an opening.
- 2 *Hanye*: Scribal error for *hatle*, killed.

Chandrapta 1023 [Sakabda 1733 (1811 CE)]

The year of Soipam Laipa, Chandrapta 1023 [Sakabda 1733 (1811 CE)]. 19 Friday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 6 Sunday, Shri Maharaj played polo with a ball which had a bell attached to it. On that day, a river was blocked at Koiremkei and the watercourse was diverted to the Yirong watercourse. 7 Tuesday, Haopam Krashnachandra's child¹ hanged himself (herself). 8 Wednesday, five Chinese arrived. 19 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 21 Tuesday, Koiremkei Thingngen was blocked. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 22 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 24 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 16 Monday, the people including the Maharaj flattened the Kangcheipung polo ground with a roller.² 27 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of

Thawan (July/August) began on Tuesday. 18 Monday, eight open-sided sheds were built in the Moirampa market by the people of the four *Leikais*. 28 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of the month of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 8 Saturday, Yentropa Bhatra who went to Aawa as the emissary returned. 28 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 27 Tuesday, a meteorite was seen. 28 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 2 Monday Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei left for the Ganges. 29 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, Shri Guru Thakur left for the Ganges. 12 Thursday, the Maharaj went down to Kontha. He caught two tigers and they were brought back. 28 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 27 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 27 Tuesday, Yimnapa the *Pukhranpa* also died. 28 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. New moon Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu.

- 1 *Macha*: Sibling, no gender indicated.
- 2 *Wukai Takpa*: To flatten the ground with a wooden roller which is pulled by beasts. The phrase is also used when one is made to work to one's limit.

Chandrapta 1024 [Sakabda 1734 (1812 CE)]

The year of Naorem Khunling, Chandrapta 1024 [Sakabda 1734 (1812 CE)]. Sachiphu was reckoned as an intercalary month. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 16 Monday, when Loitampa pursued his servant who had run away Loitampa was killed by the people of Sekmai. 2 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 6 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 8 Monday Shriji and others went to Heinou Khongnembi to feast on mangoes. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 7 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 8 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September)¹ began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 10 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November)² began on Friday. 10 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 9 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 10 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 10 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday.

- 1 The month of Thawan is missing.
- 2 The month of Mera is missing.

Chandrapta 1025 [Sakabda 1735 (1813 CE)]

The year of Sinam Mungyamba, Chandrapta 1025 [Sakabda 1735 (1813 CE)]. 12 Monday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 12 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 14 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 16 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 17 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August)¹ began on Friday. 19 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 18 Tuesday, they dredged *Manung Thangkampat* (the inner moat in the palace complex). 21 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 22 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 21 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 21 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 16 Saturday, Nityaibangsa left. 27 Friday, as it was announced that the royal younger brother the Jubraj was on his way, Shri Maharaj also returned. 21 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 21 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 6 Sunday, Shri Marjit the royal younger brother the Jubraj and Shri Maharaj Phalok Wairang Pamheipa fought at the big barricade at Kakching for eleven days and as the royal younger brother Shri Marjit the Jubraj won the battle, Shri Maharaj Phalok Wairang Pamheipa left towards the direction of Mayang.² 17 Wednesday Shri Marjit the Jubraj entered the palace. Marjit became king. 21 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu.

- 1 The month of Yinga is missing.
- 2 Fighting between many brothers and half-brothers in their aspiration for the throne became the pattern amongst the many princes of Manipur born of polygamous kings. The absence of unity amongst the princes who were expected to guard the country led to the Burmese occupation and devastation of Manipur for seven years, and the deportation of six lakh able men to Burma, present Myanmar, and many fleeing to neighbouring provinces in India.

MEETINGU NONGPOK WAIRANG PAMHEIPA

Chandrapta 1025–1032 [Sakabda 1735–1742 (1813–1820 CE)]

[The year of Sinam Mungyamba, Chandrapta 1025 [Sakabda 1735 (1813 CE)]. [The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 17 Wednesday, Shri the Jubraj entered the palace. Marjit became king.]¹

- 1 Nongpok Wairang Pamheipa was also known as Marjit. Scribal insertion 'Marjit became king.' at the side margin of the *P.Ms.* folio.

Chantrapta 1026 [Sakabda 1736 (1814 CE)]

The year of Langmaithem Mupa, Chandrapta 1026. [Sakabda 1736 (1814 CE)]. 22 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of **Sachiphu** (March/April). 13 Monday, Shri Marjit Maharaj ascended the throne. 23 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 24 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 27 the *Sangkranti* of the month of Yingen began. New moon Sunday there was a solar eclipse. Yipungsi Rutra Sing, who went to Aawa, returned. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 29 Monday, there was an earthquake. New moon Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday and it was an intercalary month. 4 Friday, Chingngakhanpa the *Mantri* died. 6 Sunday, there was an earthquake. The last month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 2 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 22 Sunday, Huitrompa Supon the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) left for Aawa. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 2 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. On that day Thokchom was involved in a controversy in connection with a garment. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 6 Sunday, gun shots were fired and all the people were summoned. They attacked Pharaikon. 14 Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. On that day there was an earthquake. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. That day was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. That day was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. New moon Sunday, the royal palace gate made of bricks crumbled. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu began.

Chandrapta 1027 [Sakabda 1737 (1815 CE)]

The year of Likmapa Shrithor, Chandrapta 1027 [Sakabda 1737 (1815 CE)]. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 6 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. New moon Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 8 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen.¹ The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 11 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 12 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 12 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 13 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 10 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. Full moon Saturday there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 10 Wednesday, there was a very heavy fall of hailstones. 12 Friday was

the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, they began to build the temple for Shri Govindaji. 13 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 12 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 14 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 14 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu.

1 Two Sangkrantis in one month. Month of Yinga is missing.

Chandrapta 1028 [Sakabda 1738 (1816 CE)]

The year of Loitongpa Hori, Chandrapta 1028 [Sakabda 1738 (1816 CE)]. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 16 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of the Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 17 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. On that day Yipungsi Kapotapa died. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 20 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. 21 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 22 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 24 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday.¹ 25 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. On the new moon Tuesday there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday, Singpo came and presented a golden throne to Shrijut Maharaj. On that day the whole land left for Marabi to fell trees for firewood to fire bricks. New moon Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 24 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 13 Saturday, there was an earthquake. 24 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 20 Thursday, Shri Guruji Thakur was deported to *Loi*. 24 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 25 Tuesday, the *Piba* of Haopam (extended family) died. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 25 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 25 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu.

1 The months of Thawan and Langpan are missing.

Chandrapta 1029 [Sakabda 1739 (1817 CE)]

The year of Laisram Tamra Sing, Chandrapta 1029 [Sakabda 1739 (1817 CE)]. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, Laisrapa Syamram was appointed the *Kalaraj*. 22 Wednesday, they began to build a temple. 26 Sunday, many people including Haopam the *Mantri* died. 27 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. New moon Friday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, there was fighting between Yipungo Mungyampa and the Haopam extended family. Full moon Friday, the post of the *Lourungpa* was replaced by an astrologer. 28 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga.

The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. New moon Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. Yingen was an intercalary month. 2 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 8 Wednesday, a tiger was caught. 12 Friday, there was an earthquake. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 3 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 17 Saturday, there was an earthquake. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 3 Monday there was yet another earthquake. 5 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. 12 Tuesday they attacked Cheksin. They also completed (the task in) Thoukai.¹ 20 Thursday, they recovered the golden layered flag which belonged to Shri Govindaji and which had been stolen, from Keisam Damu.² On that day a male elephant calf was born. New moon Sunday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday.³ 6 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 14 Saturday, the people of Waikhong caught a tiger. 16 Monday, the four *Leikais* performed a play named *Ramalila*.⁴ 26 Thursday, Meetingu Nongpok Wairang Pamheipa and others left to attack the Mayangs. They were victorious over the Mayangs. They captured Nokthirikhon Sing and Ram Sing in the battle, these two and many others. Thangcham Cha Rupochandra and Langmaithempa Leirikhompa, these two, lost their lives in the battle. They also dug a ditch at the Khutpatuli palace to mark the land boundary. They also gathered one thousand Mayangs alive and took them captive. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 24 Friday, Ningthem returned after his attack on the Mayangs. 25 Saturday, the ditch which was dug by the Mayangs in the days of Khakempa was filled. While the king was attacking the Mayangs, the Haos scattered the villages of Karong, Laikhong, Wakching, Nungpang and Thumkong; all these villages were scattered and many people were killed. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 3 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. There was thundering on *Lai Koubu* (mountain). They celebrated the *Lai Haraoba* festival of Lai Koubu. All the royal ladies participated at the Haraoba festival. 2 Monday was Bisu *Sangktranti*.

1 *Thoukai*: Obscure.

2 *Damupu*: suffix *pu* indicates that Damu is the object of the sentence; Damu, who had stolen the *sekin*, was also found. If the stolen article was recovered by Damu, then the suffix would be *Damuna*, *na* to indicate that Damu was the subject, who had recovered the stolen object.

3 Month of Mera is missing.

4 *Ramlila*: a Hindu religious play depicting the story of the mythical Hindu King Ram. Term used for the first time.

Chandrapta 1030 [Sakabda 1740 (1818 CE)]¹

The year of Lairik Yengpa Khenaram [Sakabda 1740 Chandrapta 1030 (1818 CE)].¹ 6 Sunday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu.

New moon Tuesday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, a plinth of three *lam* high for the main royal palace for Ningthem was built. It had seven rooms and a wooden ceiling. It had gold-plated roof. The Kangla building, the great palace, the Nonghumsang building and the bath house had wooden ceilings and golden roofs. All these were enhanced with the addition of two pools which were dug on the eastern side of the royal palace and (the water) was made available (to the palace) through a conduit under the ground.² 10 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 12 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 15 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 17 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 17 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 17 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 18 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 17 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 16 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 14 Wednesday, the inner and outer sides of the brick wall³ round *Pharaikon* (Pharai enclosure) was completed. 17 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 16 Sunday was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Sak. 1739. P.Ms.* Scribal error for Sakabda 1740. Sakabda dating preceeds the Chantrapta dating.
- 2 *Pukhri ani toutuna, Sna Hachang yeina hukye: Sna*, royal, *hachang yeina*: phrase meaning to encase, to trim with inlay, to enhance, *Hukye*: to put or go through as when a conduit is laid under a road. Meaning: The royal palace was enhanced with the water supply from the two pools through the conduit. The gerund *toutuna*, (with the digging) makes the reading of *hukye* (term used to mean the digging and having access to, as in the case of salt wells) imply that the water was channelled through a tunnel under the ground.
- 3 *Manung mapan*: could also imply two separate walls, an inner and an outer wall. But the absence of 'two' indicates that it was one thick wall, which was fortified, where two teams of people worked simultaneously, from the inner and the outer sides of the same wall.

Chandrapta 1031 [Sakabda 1741 (1819 CE)]

The year of Wakanpam Hori, Chandrapta 1031 [Sakabda 1741 (1819 CE)]. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 19 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 22 Saturday, the *lai* caused fires to break out¹ on all the four *leikais*. 13 Monday the *Sangkranti*

of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 23 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 26 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 5 Thursday, as it was decided that the Khurai village area was to be included in the palace area, they began to build the mud wall after erecting the demarcation posts. 13 Friday, they dug the irrigation canal beginning from Kyamkei up to Heiyen. The canal was named Mairengkong canal. 27 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. Full moon Tuesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 27 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 26 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, they began to build a brick wall round Khurai. 12 Monday, at sunset a meteorite was seen. 28 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. On that day the Aawa emissary arrived. There was also an earthquake. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, as it was reported that the Aawas had marched (against the land), all the people from the area of Khurai village and the whole land along with Meetingu Nongpok Wairang Pamheipa, marched to attack Aawa. 5 Tuesday, the combat with the Aawas began. 12 Tuesday, the land was devastated.² Ningthem fled to the land of the Mayangs. He reigned on the throne for seven years. 28 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 10 Tuesday, Pakhan Woon and Kane Woon, these two, with the intention to deceive sent a message through Chakapiyang to Yipungsi Jai saying that they would make him the king, and thus called him down from the Haos (in the hills). Yipungsi came down (from the hills), along with some Meeteis. But the Aawas deceived them and captured and took Yipungsi Jai along with three lakh Meeteis to Aawa. Kane Woon and two thousand Aawas stayed behind to live and devastate the country. They encamped at the Kangcheipung polo ground. 28 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 28 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Yipungsi Herachandra came down from the Khongchais and gathered all those who were roaming around with their food³ and established a resistant army of patriots.⁴ Full moon Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse. 28 Tuesday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Laina mei thaiye*: The *lai* set fire. In the Meetei culture when a human explanation cannot be found for any event, the *lai* or the supernatural is taken as the originator of the event. Here it indicates an omen.
- 2 Nongpok Wairang Pamheips's refusal to remain merely as a vassal king to the Aawa (Burmese) king led the new Aawa king Bagyidaw (grandson of Podapawa) to invade Manipur in 1819 CE. This marked the beginning of the 'Seven Years' Devastation' of Manipur under the rule of Aawa.
- 3 *Chak chenpa*: *Chak*: cooked rice, *chenpa* to run, or with: literally those who ran or moved about with cooked rice, meaning who moved about with portions of food. Nationalist patriotic fighters with no fixed abode.
- 4 *Taku*: from Bengali *daku* meaning a ruffian, brigand. The term is used for the resistance fighters against the puppet rulers under foreign control. Term used for the first time.

YIPUNGSI HERACHANTRA THE KING OF PATRIOTS¹

Chandrapta 1032 [Sakabda 1742 (1820 CE)]

[The year of Moirang Khenaram, Chandrapta 1032 Sakabda 1742 (1820 CE)]. 29 Wednesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 6 Friday, as the people of Aawa who stayed behind came to know that the people (of Manipur) were planning to attack them, not one of them went out to fetch paddy or to harvest vegetables. As they had nothing to eat they went down to the area of Moirang. 9 Tuesday, when 500 Aawas arrived they were scattered by Yipungsi Herachandra along with Aangom Supunath Mani, Aakoicham Khamba, Yelangpam Aamu, Meiyengpa Syam and Moirangthem Lopangko. They scattered the 500 strong Aawa army and killed 200 Aawas. 12 Friday, Yipungsi Yimchao Tapa came and reached Maklang.² His royal younger brother Herachandra met him. (Herachandra) asked in anger with tears in his eyes, 'O my elder brother (*Yambung ao*), how have we ruined and are still ruining this country?'³ When the elder brother answered and asked how many weapons and guns were available, he was told that fifty horses, twelve guns and 800 men were available. The elder brother replied and said, 'It is well. Let us attack the occupiers', and handed over to his younger brother two horses, five *kabak* swords and three guns, all that he had with him. Then he said to his younger brother, 'I will go to Kane Woon (as his man).' When the younger brother tried to stop his elder brother from going to the Aawas saying, 'O my elder brother (*Yambung Ao*), Haima Nao is unpredictable and does not give a steadfast word even to the Aawas', he refused to listen. 17 Wednesday, Yipungsi Yumchao Tapa came to Kane Woon. He was asked from where he came. He introduced himself saying that he was the son of Ningthem Yaima and that in the past his father obtained his throne with the help of the king of Aawa; and he asked them that he might also acquire the throne with their help. At this, they asked his name and he gave his name as Yimchao Tapa. When he was asked as to the number of the people who came with him and the number of weapons he brought with him, the reply was that only four men came with him and as for the weapons, whatever they had had, all had been taken from them by the Haos by force. He was welcomed to stay and thus he stayed for five days with the Aawa army. 21 Sunday, Kane Woon said that they had been starving as all those who had gone to collect paddy had been killed by Herachandra, and so (the Woon) asked him to go along with those who were to collect paddy. He agreed to go. He took 100 Aawas to Sekmai to carry paddy. They returned on the 24 Wednesday. Kane Woon rejoiced and he promised (the Meetei prince) the kingship as he took (the prince) to be his ally. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. 5 Friday Kane Woon said, as his enemy was Herachandra, if he was able to defeat Herachandra then Yimchao Tapa would be made the king. Yipungsi Yumchao Tapa agreed that he would fight. Kane Woon gave (Yimchao Tapa) forty horses, twenty guns, two golden canopies, two silver swords, and he set out for his march. He arrived at

Heiyen. He met Herachantra. He was greeted with the words, 'Elder brother (*Yampung*) you have returned and it is so good.' Thus 200 Aawas were slaughtered. The two brothers stayed together for a night. 7 Sunday, they came up to the palace. (Yipungsi Yimchao Tapa) encamped his troops at Khompitot. Yipungsi Herachantra and others encamped at Moirankhom. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 4 Friday, Yipungsi Herachantra slew all the Aawas who encamped at Kakching. And those who escaped were all killed at the entrance of Chaopok mountain. 5 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 7 Monday, Yipungsi Herachantra encamped in Singchamei. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 6 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of the Thawan began. 7 Wednesday, there was fighting between Aawa Aamupalapa and his men and Yipungsi (Herachantra). Aanupalapa was killed by Moirangthem Lopango. They captured ten men in the battle and they also collected thirty guns. In the northern area also the royal elder brother captured one Aawa cannon gunner and five prisoners. They also captured and brought one cannon. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Friday. 8 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 9 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, the two royal brothers consulted as to how to disperse the Aawas. 10 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 16 Tuesday, Pakhan Woon and ten thousand Aawas marched towards Kakching. 20 Friday, Yipungsi Herachantra and others fought at Thoupan (Thoubal) in front of the Chingnga hills, but they were not successful. The two royal brothers fought for eight months. The two royal brothers fled to the land of Mayang. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday. 9 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. It was on that day that Woon Pakhan and Woon, these two took Meeteis numbering three *lakhs* and left for Aawa. They appointed Huitrompa Subon the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) to be the caretaker defender of the Land. 12 Wednesday, Yipungsi Herachantra, the king of the Patriots, collected a few men and with the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) fought against the occupier. 14 Friday, Sna Yimchao reached Maklang. The King of Patriots and Spon, the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*), these two, also welcomed Yipungsi Yumchao Tapa.

- 1 Yipungsi Herachantra led a small Resistance Group against the Aawa occupation of Manipur. He was nicknamed 'Taku Ningthou', 'King of Ruffians'; most probably by those who enjoyed the throne of Manipur and their supporters, under the control of Aawa. Herachantra stood for the sovereignty of Manipur.
- 2 Maklang: This is the entry point from Mayang to the Valley of Manipur by the Cachar road, an ancient tract but motorised since the World War.
- 3 *Yambung ao, leipak asipu kamna manghansipano?* *Yambung*: address to the elder brother in a polite form, *ao*: an emphatic expression as that of 'my brother', *Leipak asipu*: this country, *Kamna*: how, *Manghansipano?* From verb *mangba/mangpa*: to be lost or ruined, with *han*, *manghanpa*: conditional: to cause to ruin or to be lost. *Manghansi*: future meaning 'Let us cause it to be ruined, *si* plural future form indicating

a deliberate act not completed and with *pano* a conditional question; meaning ‘what had we done and still doing to bring ruin to the land?’

YIPUNGSI SNA YIMCHAOTAPA

Chandrapta 1032 [Sakabda 1742 (1820 CE)]

The year of Moirang Khenaram, Chandrapta 1032 [Sakabda 1742 (1820 CE)]. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began Saturday. 16 Sunday, Sna Yimchaotapa entered the palace and became king.¹ The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 9 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 9 Wednesday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 Scribal insertion ‘Yipungsi Yimchao Ngampa became king’ at the side margin of the *P.Ms.* folio.

Chandrapta 1033 [Sakabda 1743 (1821 CE)]

The year of Thokchom Khunling, Chandrapta 1033 [Sakabda 1743 (1821 CE)]. 10 Thursday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year’s day in the month of Sachiphu. 26 Wednesday, Yipungsi Gambhir Sing came from the land of the Mayangs and became king. The royal son Yimchao Tapa (Sna Yimchao) left for the land of Aawa.

MEETINGU CHINGLEN NONGTREN KHOMPA

Chandrapta 1033–1045 [Sakabda 1743–1755 (1821–1833 CE)]

[The year of Thokchom Khunling, Sakabda 1743 Chandrapta 1033 (1821 CE). 10 Thursday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year’s day in the month of Sachiphu. 26 Wednesday, Yipungsi Gambhir Sing came from the land of the Mayangs and became king.¹ The royal son Yimchao Tapa (Sna Yimchao) left for Aawa.] The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. They began to build a royal palace at Thangwaipan. 6 Monday, there was an earthquake. 8 Wednesday, Ningthem left to attack the Haos. 12 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Friday. 13 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 15 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 17 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. There was a severe famine. Many people died and all the dead could not be given the last rites. The price of paddy was 1,500,000 *sen* a *sangbai* basket.² The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 19 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday.

- 1 Chinglen Nongtren Khompa was also known as Gambhir Sing. Scribal insertion 'Gambhir Sing became king' at the side margin of the *P. Ms. folio*. At the beginning of this king's reign four other princes made attempts on the throne and became puppet kings for short periods under the king of Aawa.
- 2 One *sangbai* is equivalent to appr. 29.86 kg. Though transplanting and harvesting were in the hands of women, digging and ploughing were men's tasks. As six lakh men were taken captive within the previous two years and any man who was left behind were engaged in fighting.

YIPUNGSİ JAI SINGH

**Sakabda 1743 [*Langpan*]-1744 [*Mera*]
(1821 [Aug/Sept-1822 Sept/Oct] CE)**

[The year of Thokchom Khunling, Sakabda 1743 Chandrapta 1033 (1821 CE)]. 21 Tuesday (of the month of *Langpan*), the *Sangkranti* of *Mera* began. On that day Yipungsi Jaipa,¹ who was appointed as king by the Aawas, arrived. He became king at Thoupan Moiching. A palace was built and he stayed there. 25 Saturday, Ningthem Gambhir Sing left for the land of Mayang. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 3 Monday, they began to build a temple at Moiching. 7 Friday, Pukhranpa Jai the Pundit was given the task of ritually cleansing all the Meetei shrines and sacred places which were defiled by the Aawas, starting from the main royal palace building and throughout the land. 10 Monday, Maharaj Jai Singh moved to the Main Royal Palace building from Moiching. He began to put into practice all that which had been done in the days of his royal ancestors. 12 Wednesday, the king sitting by the palace gate, paddy was distributed to all those who were frail and suffering and under stress from hunger. 21 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 21 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 21 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 20 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 20 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 20 Thursday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Yipungsi Jai Singh*: another Meetei prince was put on the throne of Manipur by the Aawas.

Chandrapta 1034 [Sakabda 1744 (1822 CE)]

The year of Haopicham Hongba, Sakabda 1744. Chandrapta 1034 (1822 CE). 21 Friday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 22 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 10 Thursday, all the roads of the four *Leikais* and the housing areas which had been

obliterated, after having been inspected, were now repaired, the Ningthem himself being involved. 25 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 27 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 19 Tuesday, the emissary of the king of Aawa arrived to recall Ningthem. 29 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 18 Wednesday, Ningthem Jai Singh left for Aawa. He reigned for two years. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Wednesday. That day was also the *Sangkranti* of Langpan.

MEETINGU NONGPOK CHINGLEN KHOMPA

Sakabda 1744–1745 Chandrpta 1034–1035 (1822–1823 CE)

[The year of Haopicham Hongba, Sakabda 1744. Chandrpta 1034 (1822 CE)]. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 2 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. On that day the king of Aawa appointed Yipungsi Jatu Sing¹ the king of Manipur and sent him with a complete set of the royal attire. He was also given five horses, two elephants and five guns, the personal sword of the king of Aawa which was studded with gold and diamond, a royal golden sword, two silver swords, three royal canopies, two royal thrones and one thousand soldiers; and on the full moon Thursday he entered the palace. Meetingu Nongpok Chinglen Khompa at the age of thirty-three years began to reign. He also brought with him Aadhikari Mayum Shri guru Nanton Thakur and Guru Thakur Konok Kanta the *Hanchapa*, these two, who had been invited to Aawa by the king of Aawa for their service in performing a Hindu religious rite in the days of Ningthem Mayang Ngampa. 2 Sunday of the month of **Poinu** (November/December)² the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 13 Thursday, a message was sent (by Jatu Sing) to his royal father, who was in the land of the Mayangs, asking him to return (to Manipur), saying that he had worshipped the ancestral *Yiputhou Pakhangpa* while he was in the land of Aawa, that he might be allowed to bring back his royal father to be on the throne; and now his prayer has been answered, and his royal father could occupy the throne. 21 Thursday, all the shrines and sacred places of Yiputhou Pakhangpa were searched out and worship was re-established. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 5 Friday, they attacked both the new and the main villages of Parengpa and they were victorious. They took as booty bullocks and buffaloes. They also collected a large quantity of paddy. The price of paddy was 500,000 *sen* a *sangbai* basket. Ningthem sat in front of the royal palace gate and distributed paddy and rice to all those who were frail and suffering and under stress from hunger. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. That day the *Sangkranti* also began. 2 Thursday, Sakonsem Soipai brought (a symbol of) *Snamahi*³ from the Aawa village of Chengkang. He was rewarded with five paddy fields in the area of Sarong. 3 Friday, the *Laimanai* group raided Hamchi and they captured mithuns and buffaloes. They also captured a large quantity of paddy. The

month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 2 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. New moon Friday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 Jatu or Jadu Singh was another name for Nongpok Chinglen Khompa.
- 2 Month of Hiyangkei is missing.
- 3 This probably refers to a symbol of *Snamahi* as he is imageless and even to this day *Snamahi* is not represented by an image.

Chandrapta 1035 [Sakabda 1745 (1823 CE)]

The year of Aasangpam Haochou, Sakabda 1745. Chandrapta 1035 (1823 CE). Saturday the first day of the lunar month was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 14 Friday, the royal son Yipungo Rakhop Sing and others a total of 156 people arrived from Mayang. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday, and it was also the second day of the lunar month. 6 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday Thaoroichampa, Bini, the emissary from Mayang, arrived. 8 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 13 Sunday, Yipungo the Senapati left for Aawa. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began Thursday. 21 Tuesday the emissary from Aawa arrived. 10 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan.¹ 23 Friday, a tiger was caught by the Nongchen (pool) and they celebrated (the capture with) *keiyangthekpa* (sport).² All the four *panas* took part in subduing the tiger. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 11 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Sunday. 12 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 15 Sunday, there was an earthquake. 16 Monday, the river which was dammed up by Meetengu Phanlok Wairang Pamheipa was reopened. New moon Sunday, Meetengu Nongpok Chinglen Khompa died and he reigned for two years on the throne. He was thirty-five years old. The last rites were performed at *Manglen* the main cremation (formerly burial) ground.

- 1 Discrepancy on the date.
- 2 *Keiyangthekpa*. *Keiyang thekye*: past tense of *keiyang thekpa*: broke the spine of a tiger, *kei*: tiger, *yang*: spine, *thekye* past tense of *thekpa*, to break. A daring sport performed only by a few men of valour before an audience. In this the candidate, in his ceremonial attire and armed with just a spear, will overpower the tiger and break its spine with bare hands. Such bravery carried a reward from the king.

MEETINGU RAKHOP SING

Chandrapta 1035–1036 [Sakabda 1745–1746 (1823–1824 CE)]

[The year of Aasangpam Haochou, Sakabda 1745. Chandrapta 1035 (1823 CE)]. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. On that day

Rakhop Sing became king.¹ 3 Wednesday, the royal father Nongchup Lamkai Ngampa arrived from Mayang. 6 Sunday, Ningthem went down to Thoupan. 12 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. 14 Monday, a meteorite fell at Thangching (in the south-west direction). Full moon Tuesday, the *lai* manifested at Champrabon grove. 16 Wednesday, Moirang Chantrapoton died at Wangching. 18 Friday, Ningthem Rakhop Sing returned. 19 Saturday, Ningthem left for Aawa. 23 Tuesday Khuntongpi the wife of Chandrapoton was punished with *khunkoinapa* public shaming. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, a tiger was caught at Leisangkhang and it was presented (to the king). 12 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. On that day Yipungsi Takheng and Yipungsi Guno, these two, arrived from Aawa. 13 Tuesday, as Pakhep the Senapati of Aawa (army) and others marched to attack the Mayangs, they decided to return saying that they would first ask Ningthem Rakhop to join them in attacking the Mayangs. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 12 Tuesday, Ningthem and Bokhep, these two, left to attack the Mayangs. 20 Thursday, Yipungsi Takheng and Yipungsi Guno, both were killed at Mayang. They only went as emissaries. That day the *Sangkranti* of Wakching also began. 21 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 29 Friday, a meteorite was seen. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 9 Monday, there was thunder without rain. 10 Tuesday, Ningthem returned from Mayang. Three thousand Aawas were killed (in the battle). 12 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. Pakhep also went back to Aawa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 4 was Friday. 6 was Sunday. There was an earthquake.² 12 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month³ of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 13 Sunday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

1 'Rakhop Sing became king': scribal insertion on the side margin of the *P. Ms.* folio.

2 The style of entry is different.

3 *Tha*: month. The term is repeated.

Chandrapta 1036 [Sakabda 1746 (1824 CE)]

The year of Ngangkham Thoipa, Sakabda 1746. Chandrapta 1036 (1824 CE).

14 Monday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 11 Sunday, Meetingu Rakhop Sing and Meeteireima Ningngonsu ascended the throne. On that day, a (wild) pig was caught by the people of Sakonmang and a tiger by the people of Thoupan and both were presented to the king. 15 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 17 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of Yinga (May/June) began on Monday. 19 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Tuesday. 20 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. On that day Aoina the *Lakpa* of Khapham (*Pana*) arrived from Mayang along with ...¹ 22 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The

month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 24 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 4 Friday, there was an earthquake. 24 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Aatong and the Woon of Aawa, these two and others left to attack the Mayangs. 25 Tuesday, Sara Woon of Aawa reached the valley. 5 Tuesday, after staying for five days (in Manipur) he died at Yamloupung in Thoupan. 23 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. On that day both Aatong and the Woon, together with others, who went to attack the Mayangs, retreated, and four thousand Aawas were left behind dead. New moon Monday, the first day of the lunar month of **Poinu** (November/December), there was a solar eclipse. 2 Wednesday, Aatong and Woon the Senapati, these two left for Aawa along with Ningthem Rakhop Sing. The king of Kale and five hundred Aawas stayed behind in the palace as the acting ruler.² The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 23 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 24 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 24 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. Full moon Sunday, the king of Kale was replaced by the king of Samsok as the acting ruler of the land. 24 Monday, Pisu *Sangkranti* began. On that day Meetengu Nongchup Lamkai Ngampa became king.³

1 Incomplete sentence.

2 *Leipak chapa* conflation of *Leipak* the country, *chapa* either to eat or to exploit. In this context, the acting ruler.

3 'Lamkai Ngampa became king' scribal insertion at the side margin of the *P.Ms.* folio. Vadra Singh was another name for Lamkai Ngampa.

MEETINGU NONGCHUP LAMKAI NGAMPA

Chandrapta 1037 [Sakabda 1747 (1825 CE)]

The year of Oina Bolaram, Chandrapta 1037 [Sakabda 1747 (1825 CE)]. 25 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday.

MEETINGU CHINGLEN NONGTREN KHOMPA (REOCCUPIES THE THRONE)

Chandrapta 1037–1045 [Sakabda 1747–1755 (1825–1833 CE)]

[The year of Oina Bolaram, Chandrapta 1037¹ [Sakabda 1747 (1825 CE)]. 24 Friday (of the month of Kalen) Shri Panchajukta² Gambhir Sing Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj arrived with a *Phiringki*³ at the plains of Maklang. 25 Saturday,

those Aawas who were in the land, eating the produce of the country, were repelled and they fled. 26 Sunday, Shrijut Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj entered the palace. Immediately there was an earthquake. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 13 Tuesday, Shri Panchajukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa returned to the Mayangs. He left Yipungsi Nara Singh the Senapati to defend the country. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. There was a great flood. 15 Friday, there was an earthquake. New moon Sunday, there was another earthquake. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday and it was an intercalary month. 2 Wednesday, twelve Aawa emissaries arrived. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 8 Friday, Shri Langmaithempa Kriti who was the husband of Sija (a princess), reached Maklang. Full moon Friday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 9 Sunday, Shri Panchajukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj reached Maklang with the Phiringki. 13 Friday, he entered the palace. Shri Pancha Jukta Maharaj gave a feast to all the soldiers of four Victoria Regiments. There was an earthquake. 15 Saturday, they went to Thoupan. 20 Friday, Shri Yipungsi the Senapati left to attack Aawa. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Monday. 5 Friday, Shrijut Pancha Jukta Maharaj left to attack Aawa. 10 Wednesday, Shri Yibema Maisna Aapanbi arrived at Bishnupur. 14 Monday, as they fought against the Aawa army for five days at Tumu, keeping them surrounded and under siege, the Aawas fled in the night. Much booty including many cannons, hand-guns and ammunition, rice and paddy, fish and salt, clothes, plates, pots and pans, spades and *daos* (swords) was taken. They also devastated the palace of the king of Somsok. They conquered all the area of Yingthi (Chindwin) river. They captured five hundred buffaloes, five horses and also brought with them many Meeteis (who had been taken as prisoners earlier). The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, Shri Pancha Jukta Maharaja Chinglen Nongtren Khompa returned after attacking Aawa and arrived at Thoupan. Full moon Wednesday, Shri Maharaj occupied the palace at Bishnupur. 18 Saturday, Shri Maisna the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) and Shri Huiiya the *Pukhranpa*, these two and others left to attack the Haos of Luwanglon. 20 Monday, they scattered the Haos in Luwanglon. They captured in the raid twenty buffaloes, ten servants and one thousand *phoupots* of paddy. 25 Friday, Shri Aachoipa the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) attacked the Haos of Nanphou and collected 1010 *phoupots* of paddy. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 11 Monday, all the Meetei army including Satera the Mayang *Lampu* stayed behind and continued to raid Nanphou. 6 Monday, the Aawa emissary arrived. 29 Thursday, there was a strong gale and many big trees and bamboos were broken. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday.

- 1 Only Chantrapta dating is used, with a scribal insertion of 1747 which is the Sakabda dating.
- 2 *Pancha Jukta*: *Pancha*: Bengali for five, *Jukta*: Bengali reference to the five senses or five cons. Title given to the king by the Bengalis.

- 3 *Phiringki amaka*: with one *Phiringki*. *Phiringki*: Probably derived from *Fareng*, *Firing*, a Persian word used for Europeans. *amaka*: one. The Englishman was Capt. Grant who was in command of the Manipur Levy.

Chandrapta 1038 [Sakabda 1748 (1826 CE)]

The year of Soipam Khuling, Chandrapta 1038 [Sakabda 1748 (1826 CE)]. 5 Wednesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 13 Thursday, Shri Panchajukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj and Shri Yipemma the Thounaoukcham maiden were married. Shri Yipungsi the Senapati also married a Thounaoukcham maiden. The Haomacha Institute Building was burnt. 20 Wednesday, they began to build a royal palace on top of a mountain at Bishnupur. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 4 Thursday, the Aawa emissary was received at court. 14 Saturday, Shri Yipungsi the Senapati left for the Ganges. Full moon Sunday there was a lunar eclipse. It was a total eclipse.¹ 22 Sunday, Shri Pancha Jukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa the Maharaj performed an expiation rite² for the period Aawa had ruled the country. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 10 Thursday, Kolupa Yindra Sing the *Jamadar* left to summon Sumatan, Phatang and Huring, these three according to the King's order. They came and presented three *yingen chunglei*³ and three cloths for the *lai*. Shri Maharaj gave three red felt cloths,⁴ sixty spades and three *pot* measures of salt. 21 Sunday, Shri Pancha Jukta *Manipureswar*⁵ Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj along with Yipemma Aapanbi went to Thangka to picnic on fruit. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, Shri Langmaithempa Nungnangkhompa Aangoupampa was crowned (the chief of Aangom). In Thawan, they also began the *Kirtan*. 14 Tuesday, Cheiteinityai arrived from Mayang. 17 Friday, the English wife of the Phiringki Sahep arrived from Mayang. 29 Wednesday, a Meetei maiden, wife of a Phiringki gave birth.⁶ The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 29 Friday, the Kapo Khari of Aawa arrived to pay tribute (to the king). The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 7 Monday, the Kapos came with their tribute payment and also made obeisance to Shri Pancha Jukta Manipurswar Chinglen Nongtren Khompa, the Maharaj. 10 Monday, the Dance Institute was inaugurated. 25 Tuesday, the emissary from Khampat arrived. 26 Wednesday, Shrijut Maharaj went to Leimatak to inspect the fast barge. 29 Saturday, he returned after inspecting the fast barge. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. 13 Friday, Shri Maharaj left to attack the Ngakacheng Haos. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 5 Saturday, Shri Maharaj devastated Ngakacheng and captured servants, cattle, buffaloes and a large quantity of paddy without measure, and returned with the booty. While he was still on his way, on 4 Friday, the news of the death of Shri Mayamma Yipungo his royal elder brother the Jubraj, in Brindabon, reached him. He offered a religious feast immediately. Full moon Tuesday, there was a lunar eclipse. It was a total eclipse. 16 Wednesday, Khuntrakpa Nathang the *Hajari* came with the Khongjai Haos and presented to the king one horse, one servant, goats and sheep. 24 Friday,

they left to attack the Aokkhrun Haos. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, they destroyed Aokkhrun and Choithar, these two areas. 5 Monday, Yipungsi the Senapati who went to the Ganges returned. 12 Monday, the Institute building of *Vandari* (cooks) was burnt. 9 Friday, the news that the Haos, who could not be subdued for the last two generations, had been subdued, was received by Shri Maharani and (it was announced) to the beating of the big drums by all the four *Panas*. 17 Saturday, Shri Pancha Jukta Manipurswar Chinglen Nongtren Khompa, the Maharaj, returned after attacking Aokkhrun. They collected many mithuns, buffaloes, servants, cattle, and paddy. When the Hao village which was built with planks of wood caught fire and when the whole place was aflame and half-burnt, and when all the people could not stop it, Shri Maharaj beat down the flames with his battle sword and the fire was put out. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. On that day the English wife of the Phiringki left for Mayang. 3 Sunday, Shri Maharaj left to attack the Thonlang Haos. The Phiringki also left to settle the boundary⁷ with the land of Aawa. 7 Thursday, they began to build a birth house for Shri Yibemma Maisnam Aapanbi. 9 Saturday, Sitan Sahib arrived from Mayang. On that day, the Sekmais came and presented to the king one living *sachan* (deer). 12 Wednesday, the Sanglang building caught fire. Immediately Sitan Sahib also left to inspect land in Aawa. 19 Wednesday, Shri Pancha Jukta Maharaj returned after attacking Thonlang. They captured servants, cattle, buffaloes and paddy beyond measure. 20 Thursday, the people of Suknu presented to the king a tiger they had caught. 21 Friday, there was an earthquake. The Aawa emissary also arrived. 28 Thursday, *Sanglangmei* building was inaugurated. Ningthem was present. Large sums of money were presented to the Bramahons and Bhaishnabs. To all the nobles, big baskets of raw cotton were presented.⁸ The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. On that day, Aachoipa the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) left to collect the tribute payment from the Kapuis of Kapui Loisang mountain range which was overdue.⁹ 3 Tuesday, the chief of Moirang (was appointed and) was escorted to Moirang. 4 Wednesday, Shri Yipungsi Nara the Senapati returned after attacking the Thonlang Haos. 5 Thursday, they began to build a birth house for Yibemma Aapanpi. 8 Sunday, Yipungsi the Senapati left to attack the Khaki Haos.¹⁰ 10 Tuesday, Sumtan Haos killed five sepoys¹¹ and five Haos. 11 Wednesday, Shri Huiirya major along with the *Pukhranpa* and others left to guard the Haos in the northern region of the country. On that day, Langmaithemba the *Nongthonpa* and others came from the Namphou Haos with twenty mithuns, three hundred *lakhs* of *sen*, one brass gong, and one servant in place of *sen* tribute payment,¹² and all these were presented to Ningthem. The Khongchai Haos brought one servant, the Changsons brought one male horse and they paid obeisance to Shri Maharaj. 13 Friday, as the Maharaj had made his royal order known to Aasangpa the *supitar* (*subidar*), a market at Aoinam (was established) and the people attended the market. On that day, they began to build an armoury with bricks. New moon Sunday, they repaired the road to Bisnupur palace. On that day the Phiringki who went to fix the boundary with the land of Aawa returned. 20 Friday, Yipungsi the Senapati who went to attack the Khaki Haos

returned. The (Khaki Haos) came and presented to Ningthem one mithun and one servant. 22 Sunday, Shri Maharaj¹³ and the royal daughters arrived from Mayang. Pamon the *Hanchapa* also arrived. 26 Thursday, Shri Wangkhei Aamu the *Subitar* along with the Hoas of Khaki came and presented to the king four mithuns, one horse, one cone-shaped cannon, one *khutong* hand-gun, and two brass boss gongs. 28 Saturday, Choithar and Lamlang, these three villages¹⁴ came and presented to the king seven mithuns, one buffalo, one shield, one spear, one sword and four (woven) clothes. Ningthem presented to the *Lakpa* of the upper village one *phirangchi* (felt) cloth and to his father one string of red *nongthrei* (amber), a single portion of one measure of salt;¹⁵ to Tora, one *phirangchi* cloth; and to the three messengers three *laiphi* cloths; to each of the Hao villages, one mithun, two measures of salt cakes and one flag. They also solemnised the occasion by drinking together the water where guns, swords and spears had been immersed, which was regarded as sacred and having supernatural power.¹⁶ They also performed the rite of *Huirin thatnaba*, at which the intestines of a dog were pulled apart by both the parties. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. On the same day Monday, Aachoipa the *Lakpa* of Laiphram (*Pana*) returned after collecting tribute payments which were overdue from all the Kapui Haos at Haokhwai. They (Kapuis) came and presented to Ningthem thirty-five maid servants and seventeen buffaloes. 14 Monday, Yambeba Rashmon, the *Supitar* (*Subidar*) who had gone to drag the chief fast barge from Kongyanglok gorge, returned. 25 Thursday, all the main Institute buildings of the four *Panas* caught fire. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, there was a polo match between Shri Ningthemmayum¹⁷ and the Aangommayum¹⁸ extended families. Shri Yipemma Aapambi (the queen) and all the other royal ladies watched the game. Ningthemmayum family won the match. All the royal ladies also danced at the beating of the drums and cymbals. The wives of the nobles gave presents to the royal ladies.¹⁹ 8 Wednesday, Shrijut Maharaj left to inspect the land at Sakonmang. 9 Friday, a royal order from Shrijut Maharaj was given to Soukaichamba Nitman to set up a market in Yirengpam for the people. On that day, the Maharaj returned from his inspection (of Sakonmang). 11 Sunday, Shrijut Maharaj scattered *sen*. With twenty *tangkha* coins²⁰ a person was able to buy most of the things sold in the market, paying what was considered to be a fair price. 13 Tuesday, there was a polo match between the Ningthemmayum and Aangonmayum. The Ningthemmayum won the match. The Aangoms paid the wager²¹ with *tan* pancakes. 14 Wednesday, Shrijut Maharaj bought the cattle which the Meetei traders brought out from Mayang and distributed them to the sepoys. 16 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta.

- 1 *Pumna wumme*: *pumna*: whole, *wumba*: to keep it in the mouth. Phrase used for total eclipse. Phrase used for the first time in place of *pumna yotle*: swallowed whole.
- 2 *Praichit*: Sanskrit/Bengali meaning expiation. In Manipur *praichit* is performed for a person, a building or an area as a cleansing rite from ritual defilement. The land was regarded as having been defiled by the presence of non-Hindu Aawas, according to the Manipuri Hindu caste concept. Even after the Second World War, some buildings in Manipur which were considered defiled because of contact with the Allied Forces underwent ritual cleansing.

- 3 *Yingen Chunglei*: Obscure.
- 4 *Phirangchi*: Red thick woollen cloth of a single bed sheet size worn by the *Hao Lambus* as a wrapper over their bodies. They are symbols of their official posts. Apart from the *lambus* and heads of villages (*khunlakpa*), only the Manipuri royalty can use this coloured cloth, but to sit on at official public gatherings.
- 5 *Manipureswar*: Lord of Manipur, another Bengali title for the king. It also indicates that the country was known as Manipur at that time. Term used for the first time.
- 6 *Matu Macha pokye*: the wife gave birth. *Macha*: child, no gender. Oral tradition has it that the maiden was from the area of *Leinam* and she gave birth to a son. *Matu*: wife indicates that it was not a casual relation but married and recognised. The identity of the father is not given.
- 7 *Yennapa*: to share out, implying the fixing of the land boundary, between the two neighbouring countries.
- 8 *Lasing Kairen*: Big baskets of raw cotton fibre, not yet spun. Spinning and weaving was done in every family and cotton was an essential commodity.
- 9 *Kapui loisang*: *loisang*: an area which is long, probably a mountain range and whose inhabitants were (*loi*) tribute paying people, in this case the Kapuis.
- 10 *Khaki Haos*: Probably tribals of Chinese origin.
- 11 *Siphai*: for *sepoys*, British Indian Army and the Manipuri Armies. Term used for the first time.
- 12 *Senman nai*: *senman*: price in *sen* currency. *Senman nai*: servant in place of the monetary payment.
- 13 Not clear as to which Maharaj it is referring.
- 14 Discrepancy by one.
- 15 *Thum nama*: *Thum*: salt. *Nama*: term used to refer to a single item of a pair. *Thum ama* or one measure of salt consists of 100 flat salt cakes.
- 16 *Hi yai*: objects regarded as sacred with supernatural power. The drinking of the water where such objects along with the weapons of war had been immersed was to symbolise that the pact between the parties concerned was sealed.
- 17 *Ningthemmayum*: relatives of Ningthem or king but who are not themselves descendants of kings.
- 18 Angommayum: relatives of the chief of Aangom.
- 19 *Potlanba*: literally 'to pass an object', a traditional custom of presenting gifts such as fruit, sweets, flowers as an expression of happiness. *Potlanba* is still practised before an official polo match commences, where gifts are presented to both the competing parties, and by the competing parties to each other. These gifts are ceremoniously carried in beautifully made local baskets by women adorned in exquisite traditional clothes.
- 20 *Tangkha*: Hindusthani for coins. Term used for the first time.
- 21 *Tan wasa saiye*: *tan*: deep fried pancakes. *Wasa saiye*: fined or, paid a wager, by entertaining the winner with *tan*. Phrase used for the first time.

Chandrapta 1039 [Sakabda 1749 (1827 CE)]

The year of Mutum Khompa, Chandrapta 1039 [Sakabda 1749 (1827 CE)]. 19 Sunday, Shri Thakur Sithanta arrived from Mayang. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 4 Monday, Shri Maisna the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) who went to bring down racing barges¹ for Aahanlup and Laipham (*Panas*) returned. 10

Sunday, Shri Ningthouchampa the *Keirungpa* who went to bring racing barges for the Naharup and Laipham (*Panas*) returned. 16 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Sachiphu. On that day two elephants arrived from Mayang. On that day as Ningngonpa the king's bodyguard touched the royal *snakwagok*² with his feet, he was punished by imprisonment. 25 Sunday, the court building was inaugurated. *Tangka* were distributed to the Bramahons and Bheishnabs. Shri Pancha Jukta Manipureswar Chinglen Nongtren Khonpa Maharaj sought blessings from all the Bramahons and Bheishnabs that he might be a just king as he ruled his people. All the Bramahons and the Bheishnabs blessed the king saying 'let it be so'. 26 Monday, Shri Yipemma Maisna Aapanpi gave birth to a princess. A gift of coins and cattle was given to the Bramahons. 29 Saturday, Chingkhampa the *Lakpa* of Khapham (*Pana*) died. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 24 Monday, Shri the Aangom chief left to go to the Haos in the northern region to collect the tribute payment in paddy which was overdue. 27 Friday, there was an earthquake. 28 Saturday, Yipemma Aapanpi left for Thangka to feast on fish. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. On that day Shri Maisna the *Lakpa* of Aahanlup (*Pana*) left to collect the tribute payment in paddy from the Haos of the northern region which was overdue. 9 Tuesday, Shri the Aangom chief returned after collecting the paddy. 13 Saturday, Shri Maharaj left to inspect the land at Langthapan. 14 Sunday, eight Aawas who were clearing an area were captured and they were brought (to the king). 17 Tuesday, Ningthem returned after inspecting the land. 21 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 25 Friday, Shrijut Maharaj left for Langthapan to watch the *Hiyang* boat race between the four *Panas*. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 13 Monday, those who were to make the fast large barge arrived at Bishnupur. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 10 Sunday, Shri Pancha Jukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj moved to Langthapan palace. 11 Monday, he occupied the palace building. 14 Thursday, (the images of) Shri Cheitei and Nityai the two brothers were moved at the Langthapan palace. Both arrived. Yipemma Aapanpi the Maisnam maiden also arrived. 16 Saturday, Shri Yipungsi Ratan was deported to *Loi* to Kumphi as a cow was found dead with a gunshot mark within the boundary of his land. 18 Monday, they began to attend the old market at Langthapan. 22 Friday, after all the servants of Yipungsi Ratan Sing were interrogated with beating, Leisangthem Nanto confessed that he had killed the cow. He received royal judgement.³ 23 Saturday, Shri Maharaj set off to meet Shriji. 26 Tuesday, (the king) left to receive the image of Shri Gopintaji (Govinda). As the Haos of Montha refused to offer baskets of rice (to Gopintaji) when they were asked, their village was devastated. Ten main villages of the Khongchais were also subdued and made to pay tribute by Shri Pancha Jukta Manipureswar Chinglen Nongtren Khompa the Maharaj. After worshipping Shri Gopintaji Shri Maharaj returned from *Khwairakpa Yiren*. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 2 Monday many wood pigeons flew from the western direction. 25 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 3 Wednesday, Shri Govindaji

along with Shri Pancha Jukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa the Maharaj and Shrimati Maharani reached Chainapung. 7 Sunday, Shrimati Maharani occupied the Langthapan palace. 9 Tuesday, all the people of the land, including many noble men of the court and people in all the regions wherever there was a stockade, built shrines for the *lai*. They also erected banana plants along the road. They also made a three *lams* wide road from Bishnupur to Langthapan. All the Beishnab monks who were not able to worship (Shri Govinda) were now able to receive the dust of Shri Govinda's feet⁴ with devotion. Because Meetei Leipak, the land of the Meeteis, had survived (the devastation by Aawa), all the old men, old women and young women offered whatever each one of them could afford, and of whatever they possessed, showering handfuls of flowers onto the palanquin of the image with tears in their eyes. The procession was received in each of the police posts with the singing of religious songs to the beating of *pung* and clashing of cymbals, the strewing of sweet-scented flowers, the burning of incense and offering of fire.⁵ With the strewing of puffed rice and flowers, from both sides of the road, all the way, (the procession) ended at the palace at Langthapan. 20 Saturday, three Phiringki Saheps took up residence at the Langthapan (palace complex) after houses had been built. On that very day all three of them participated in the boat race. 26 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 22 Wednesday, Shri Maharaj went down to *Chingpaching* hill to feast on fruit. 3 Saturday, Shrimati Maharani and all the other royal ladies also went down to eat fruit. 26 Sunday, they returned. Shri Maharani, along with all the other royal ladies and Shri Maharaj picked *Kengngoi*⁶ from the fields of Kakyai and offered it to Shri Gopindaji. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Friday and it was the second day of the lunar month. On that day, the chief of Aangom left to bore salt wells. 5 Monday, Shri Maharaj and Shri Maharani, along with all the royal ladies, went to the old palace to picnic on rice cooked in bamboo tubes. They returned on the same day. 9 Friday, three Phiringki Saheps along with 500 sepoys left to fix the boundary with Aawa. 26 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, Shri Maharaj and Yipemma Leimakhupi the daughter of Langmaithem the *Nongthonpa* were married. On that day there was an earthquake in the night. 13 Thursday, they began to put a brick facing at Shriji's temple. On that same day, they also began to surround the pool with a brick wall and build two-storied buildings at each of the four corners of the wall. The Phiringki Saheps who went to Aawa to fix the boundary also returned and said that the Aawas were not available. 14 Friday, Tonpa the *Lakpa* of the village of Sekmai South was escorted on an elephant's back. 25 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 28 Wednesday, a Gosai who belonged to Aapteita group also arrived. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 2 Monday, the *Lakpa* of Khwai was deported to *Loi* to Suknu for committing adultery with the wife of a Phiringki. 3 Tuesday, Aapteita Gosai left. Shrijukta Maharaj offered four cannons to Shri Gopindaji. 6 Friday, Shri Maharaj left to inspect Chandrakhong canal. He also established a village there. He also gave the royal order that the people from South Sekmai were to settle at Thoupan.

8 Monday, he returned from his inspection of the canal. 11 Thursday, two Phiringki Saheps left to demarcate the land of Aawa. 27 Friday was Bishu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Tanna hi*: *tanna* adjective of verb *tannaba* to race, *hi*: barge or boats. Another word for racing barge, *Hiyang*. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Snakwagok*: *sna*: either gold or royal or both, *Kwagok*: a chalice-like utensil where the king keeps his betelnut and other edibles.
- 3 *Rajtantra*: Bengali term for royal judgement. Term *tantra* also carries the austere religious rule of the Hindus and as cows are regarded as sacred, the royal judgement may be more inclined on the religious side than towards cruelty to animals. Term used for the first time.
- 4 *Padathuli* with *prem*: Bengali for dust from under the feet, with loving devotion.
- 5 *Kirtan*: religious songs, *gantha puspa*: scented flowers, *dhup*: incense, *dip*: fire offering. Bengali terms. Terms used for the first time.
- 6 *Kengngoi*: a small edible wild plant which has green leaves and a slight lemon taste. It grows best in a shaded location.

Chandrapta 1040 [Sakabda 1750 (1828 CE)]

The year of Yanglem Khunchao, Chandrapta 1040 [Sakabda 1750 (1828) CE]. 28 Saturday, which was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of *Sachiphu*, a message reached Manipur that Shri Pancha Jukta Wairang Pamheipa Maharaj had passed away¹ in Shri Nabwadip. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday, Shrichukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj left to attack the Haos at Khaopum. 13 Sunday, those who left to settle the boundary of the land of Aawa returned without settling the matter as the Aawas refused to settle the matter then; but they asked that the settlement should be postponed till the following year. 23 Wednesday, Shrijukta Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj succeeded in subduing the Haos of Khoupum, whom the former kings had not been able to subdue, and after appointing Shri Ningthoujampa Hari the *Keirungpa* as the chief over them, he established the Khoupum village. The king returned after the village was established. They captured many cattle, buffaloes and servants in battle, which then were distributed to the Bramahons also. They also made the Chiru Haos settle in the Khaopum village. 29 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 18 Sunday, according to the royal command of Shri Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj given to Shri Khunbong Dabakisar the *Lakpa* of the Institute of Astrologers Leimapokpa, Tanchou and Pebanba, these three and others, that the beating of the *pung* (drum) to announce the Manipuri *pung* hours should synchronise with the hours of the (western) clock² in announcing time, they began to announce the *pung* hours according to the (western) clock.³ 25 Saturday, Shrichuk (Shrijut) Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj set out for the house of Shri Thamanti, when he heard that Khoipu and Singchan (Haos) had marched up to the area of the Haos of Khaki in the neighbourhood of Moirang. Thursday new moon, was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. 4 Monday (the king) returned as he found that the Khoipus

had not marched to attack. Yinga was an intercalary month. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 2 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 4 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 13 Saturday, Shrijut Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj set out to attack Aokprun. 16 Tuesday, he left to devastate the village. 21 Saturday, he devastated the village. 23 Monday, Huining and the chief of Huining were in disarray. Shri Yibungsi the Senapati scattered the Thomkham Haos. 27 Saturday, as Shri Maharaj, along with the sepoys,⁴ marched to attack the two villages of Sumthan and Phatang, they found themselves being ambushed on the way, and as the fighting broke out, they began to combat hand to hand. And when the whole army was captured by the Thonlang Haos, Shrijut Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj with the royal sword in his hand jumped off his palanquin, ran in their midst, and all the Haos were routed and they were scattered. Many people were captured in the battle. The heads of seven Haos who led the battle were severed. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Shri Maharaj, after subduing all the Haos of the northern region who had not been subdued in the past generations, arrived at his palace with all the goods presented to him as their tribute payments. 5 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 7 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. 10 Saturday, the day of *Kwaktanpa*, Shri Yipungsi the *Senapati* left for battle in the area of the Khongchais. 18 Saturday, the Maharaj left to hunt elephants. 20 Monday, they returned saying that the elephants had run away. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. 7 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 18 Monday, Shri Yipungsi the Senapati, who went to attack the Haos in the area of the Khongchais, was victorious and returned with goods which had been given in place of their tribute payments. Four men who said they were the chiefs of the Khongchais came and presented to the Maharaj three spears, eight horses, five mithuns, five ivory tusks and eleven brass bossed gongs. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 7 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 27 Friday, Shri Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj began to repair the area of *Thakur Mahabali*.⁵ The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. On that day, Chura the *Hajari* along with some other people went down to Thoupan Keiranpi to hunt tigers. 3 Thursday, Ningthem also went down to Thoupan Keiranpi and they caught a tiger. There was an earthquake on that day. The Aawa emissary also arrived. 6 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 7 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 10 Friday, they began to build the temple of Shriji. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 7 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 15 Friday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 8 Saturday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

1 *Sitha prapta: sitha for sidhya*: Bengali meaning perfection, conclusion, *prapta*: Bengali meaning obtained, gained. A religious phrase describing the death of a Hindu as obtaining perfection, or gaining an end in relation to the *karmic* cycle of birth, death and rebirth. Term used for the first time.

- 2 *Ghari*: Bengali for western clock or watch set at Greenwich mean time. This western clock must have been made available by the British after their staying at Langthapan.
- 3 The western sixty minutes hour and twenty-four hours a day did not contradict the Manipuri reckoning of *singpum*, the twenty-four hours day, which were divided in eight *yuthaks*. In place of striking the *pungs* (every twenty-two minutes, thirty seconds) within each of the eight *yuthaks*, the hours were announced continuously according to the western twenty-four hour clock as well as announcing the *yuthaks* as usual. There is no indication that the Manipuri *yuthak* was completely abolished. Even after the western time reckoning had been adopted, the old term *pung* meaning hour is still retained till this day.
- 4 *Siphai lok*: *Siphai* for *siphahi*: Bengali for soldier, *lok*: Bengali for company or person, folk. Term used for soldiers in the British regiment, but was also applied to Manipuri soldiers.
- 5 *Mahabali* refers to the carving of *Hanuman*, the monkey god, which is referred to as *Thakur*. This area where the stone carving of Hanuman was placed (1858) was known as *Mongpa Hanpa* grove, the site of one of the male *lais*, *Laibunghou*.

Chandrapta 1041 [Sakabda 1751 (1829 CE)]

The year of Thiyam Aanandaram, Chandrapta 1041 [Sakabda 1751 (1829 CE)].

9 Sunday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 17 Tuesday, lightning struck the market and a woman died. A cholera epidemic broke out and it lasted for three months, including the month of Sachiphu, and many people died. Every person lived in isolation without any contact with another. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Monday. 9 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 22 Monday, Shri Maharaj left for Sylhet as the Saheps had requested his help to attack the *Khahis*¹ since their previous attack on the Khahis had failed. Scott (*Ishka*) Sahep, the Nawab Government (the Imperial Governor), came up to the bank of the river and was found waiting to welcome Shri Maharaj. Shri Maharaj left with the Saheps to attack the Khahis. In the land of Tekhao they laid out the battle plan and shared out the various areas of attack between the sepoys trained by the Saheps, and those with the Meetei army; the latter were given the task of leading the attack, and the two groups were each to attack from different directions. The Meetei army was the first to devastate the villages. They captured the king of Khahi and delivered him to the Saheps. When the Mushman (Muslim) sacred festival and the Rath Chatra (Jatra) fell on the same day, and when the Saheps had already told the Mushmans to celebrate their festival first and the Hindus to celebrate theirs later, the Maharaj said that he would observe his festival first. Thus he, along with all the Hindus, celebrated the Rath Jatra festival on the very day it was to be observed. At this all the sepoys of Pasi Posim of Sylhet praised Shri Maharaj as a person who stood up for his faith. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 10 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Thursday. 13 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. 14 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 17 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 23 Sunday, the Maharaja returned from Sylhet.² 26 Wednesday, Yipungsi

Khapa the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei died. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 18 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 19 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 18 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 7 Friday, three Phiringki Saheps left (for Aawa) for the purpose of marking out the land of Aawa. 18 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 18 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 21 Sunday, Luwangpa the *Achoipa* (the conscript) and the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) returned after their attack of Khaki Haos. 23 Tuesday, the three Saheps who went to mark out the land of Aawa returned. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 9 Wednesday, Yipungsi the Senapati left to attack the Haos of Khaki. 10 Thursday, Shri Maharaj left to establish a village at Tumu. Full moon Tuesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 18 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 2 Wednesday,³ the elephant which had one tusk escaped. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, they barricaded Tumu Lokchao gorge. 3 Saturday, the Maharaj returned after establishing a village at Tumu. 16 Friday, Yipungsi the Seanapti returned after his attack of the Khayi Haos. 18 Sunday was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Khahi* (or *Khasi*): Present day Khasiya or Meghalayans. Term used for the first time.
- 2 *Silot ta thunglei*: arrived at Silot, (Sylhet), *ta* suffix meaning at, in. Scribal error for *taki* from, *ki* has been dropped out.
- 3 Scribal error for 23rd.

Chandrapta 1042 [Sakabda 1752 (1830 CE)]

The year of Pukham Tangkhompa, Chandrapta 1042 [Sakabda 1752 (1830 CE)]. 19 Monday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. *Hung*¹ Shri Pancha Jukta Chingthang Khompa Maharaj, when he inaugurated the Chandrabda era in the year of Nanteipam Lokhon, Sakabda 1682, introduced the *Chotish Chandrika*² almanac, which had been in use throughout the land since then; it (*Chotish Chandrika*) replaced the *Bhaswati* almanac³ which was established by Bikramachit⁴ the king, and which had already been in use previously. Shri Pancha Jukta Chinlen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj ordered it (*Chotish Chandrika*) to be forbidden saying that it had fewer numerical digits.⁵ The king also said that since the new almanac did not have the support⁶ of the Bramahons, and since it was in defiance of the decrees of the (earlier) kings, it was tantamount to slaying the kings.⁷ The king (Chinglen Nongtren Khompa) also said that the frequent devastation of the land had occurred because of these wrong actions, and he thus gave the royal order to Khunbong Deb the astrologer, who was (also) the *Lakpa* of the Institute of Astrology, to recalculate the *Jotish* (*Chotish*) *Chandrika* almanac (because) it contained fewer numerical digits than Bikramachit's Bhashapati almanac. He (Khumpong Deb) began to recalculate and write a book titled '*Angka Jotish*

*Chandrika*¹.⁸ The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 19 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 22 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 11 Friday, the Aawa emissary arrived. 14 Monday, (another) Aawa emissary also arrived. 15 Tuesday, Langmaithem maiden the queen died. 16 Wednesday, the Aawa emissary was received at court. 24 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. On that day, Premton Sahep (Captain Pemberton) left for Aawa to speak (about the boundary with the land of Aawa). The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 27 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 8 Friday, Shri Maisnam maiden the Aapambi was promoted to the rank of the queen and she was enthroned.⁹ She also scattered thirty *lakhs* of *sen* in the market. 14 Thursday, there was a lunar eclipse. 23 Friday, Ningthem went down to Suknu and returned on 29 Thursday. That day was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Saturday. 29 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 29 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Tuesday. 14 Monday, the Maharaj left for Yikou to hunt elephants. 29 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 29 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, the Maharaj returned from his elephant hunt. He caught many elephants. 25 Monday, the Maharaj left to attack the Khakis. 28 Thursday, a monk who was a foreigner, claiming that he was a prince and was the *Lakpa* of Khurai, supported by a few Meeteis, entered the palace just before dawn (to make an attempt on the throne). That day was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 29 Friday, there was a fight with (those who entered the palace) and they were killed. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Sunday. On that day the Maharaj returned. 14 Friday, both Thingkuchampa and the *Sakonsenpa* had their eyes plucked out and were then exposed at the market place. Chingkhupa the *Lakpa* of Wangkhei escaped to the hills. Full moon Saturday, there was a lunar eclipse. On that day the *Nongthonpa* who went to Brindaban to have his horoscope¹⁰ written, returned. 28 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Tuesday. 22 Tuesday, the eldest royal daughter was escorted to Nahapam Tumbra Sing. 28 Sunday, they began to build a birth-house (for the queen).

- 1 *Hung*, a nasal sound used before an incantation.
- 2 *Chotish Chantrika*: for *Jyotish Chandrika*.
- 3 *Bhaswati*: probably for *Vashpati*.
- 4 *Bikramachit*: for *Vikramaditya*, one of the titles of Chandra Gupta 11 (c. 376–415), whom tradition had credited as the founder of Vikrama era, the most important of India's many systems of dating. This is still current in North India.
- 5 The sentence structure is very long and this phrase as it stands in the sequence of clauses in the *P. Ms. Text.* could be read as applying to *Bhaswati almanac*. But because of the subsequent clauses the almanac which had fewer numerical digits (i.e., it could not date the early period of the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*) refers clearly to *Jyotish (Chotish) Chandrika* almanac.

- 6 *Aadhar*: Bengali for support. Term used for the first time.
- 7 *Hatpa sakye*: reckoned as being slain. This phrase indicates clearly that the dating of the almanac did not extend far enough back to accommodate Manipur's earlier kings.
- 8 *Angka Jotish Chandrika*: Arithmetical calculation of *Jotish Chandrika*.
- 9 It seems that she was enthroned on her own as no mention of the king is made, and the king had already been enthroned. First time this practice of enthroning a queen on her own is mentioned.
- 10 *Kothi*: Horoscope. Bengali *Koshthi*. The practice of having a horoscope written at the birth of a child still continues in Manipur.

Chandrapta 1043 [Sakabda 1753 (1831 CE)]

The year of Wanghaochou, Chandrapta 1043 [Sakabda 1753 (1831 CE)]. New moon Saturday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. On that day Shri Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj made (those in) the *Bramahon Sabha*,¹ the Jubraj, and all the nobles and the brave men, assemble at the Mantop of Shri Gopindaji and listen to *Lakhu Jotish Chandrika almanac*, which had been re-written by Khunbong Debkiswar, the *Sanglakpa* of the Institute of Astrologers. The king praised him saying that to accomplish such a task was not an ordinary common achievement for any person, and that he (the *Sanglakpa*) was born not only to continue his grandfather Chandra Sidhanta's use of the almanac but to re-introduce it once again and use it in a much better way. Saying this, the king appointed him to the post which his grandfather held. From that day onwards, the almanac called *Lakhu Jatish Chandraka*² was used in the kingdom of Manipur.³ 13 Sunday, Yipungsi the Senapati returned after attacking the Haos of Khaki. Thirteen Hao chiefs came and presented (to the king) twenty horses, seven elephant tusks and twenty mithuns as their tribute payments. On the same day, they began to build a delivery house for the reigning queen and a building for Pakhangpa, these two buildings. On that day, Aangom the *Lakpa* of Khurai, left to fell trees for the throne. Thursday new moon, was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. Sachiphu was an intercalary month. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Monday, they started to build the delivery house. On that day, the royal command was given to search for the family of Wairi, which was responsible for the collection of iron ore to make the official royal sword used at the enthronement ceremony. They found one Wairi Nanta in Kakching village and he was given the task of mining iron ore, to make the royal sword for the reigning king. Shrijut Maharaj gave the royal command to Shri Chandra Shidhanta to have this event recorded in the *Cheitharon Kumpapa*, and it was recorded. The king also commanded to record the names of all the granary hands of each family and their extended families,⁴ saying that their bravery, their income and contribution in cash and kind, should not be forgotten as they had not been forgotten in the past. So their names should not be allowed to be lost. Thus all the names of such people were (recorded in the *Kumpapa*) and kept in the royal box.⁵ Full moon Thursday, they began to build the Kangla building and Sanglangmei building, these two buildings. 21 Wednesday, they began

to build the official royal palanquin for the king. On that day, Wahengpa the *Hitang* of elephants was deported to *Loi*. 26 Monday, they began to build the royal palace, the Utra (court) building, and the boat house, these three buildings. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday. 3 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 6 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 13 Thursday Shri Aangom ascended the throne (of Aangom). 24 Monday, Shri Maharaj Chinglen Nongtrenkhomp and Shri Yipemma the Maisnam maiden ascended the throne.⁶ The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 6 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 7 Sunday, a tiger was caught in Kharaman. 8 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 14 Monday, elephant Gobindabanhap died. 21 Monday, Shri Mahasai Thakur, a descendant of⁷ Shri Nithiram Acharjya, arrived. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Thursday. 9 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. 28 Wednesday, Haobam Tumbra Sing the *Lakpa* of Khwai and husband of a princess died. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 9 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 10 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. Full moon Monday, three Phiringkis arrived. 28 Saturday, Shri Nabakiswar Gosai, a descendant of Aabteita family and Shri Nithiram, a descendant of Aacharja Prabhu, these two⁸ left. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, Yibungsi the Jubraj⁹ left to escort the Phiringkis to Tekhao. 4 Saturday, three Phiringkis left for Tekhao. 8 Wednesday, Giran Sahep (Lt. Grant) left for Kapo to inspect the land. 9 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 29 Tuesday, Shri Maharaj left to attack the village of Langhao. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Thursday. 5 Monday, the princess who was married to the Haopam family died. 6 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. There was an earthquake on that day. 12 Monday, Shri Maharaj returned after attacking Langhao village. Many people were captured in battle. They also took many servants, cattle and other goods of value. 21 Tuesday, conscript Bithiyanpa the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) returned. 27 Tuesday, Ningthem left to attack Saiton. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, they began to build the main Institute buildings for the Aahanlup and Naharup (*Panas*). 9 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. On that day, they began to build the main Institute buildings for Laipham and Khapham (*Panas*). 12 Tuesday, Ningthem returned after attacking Saiton. 13 Wednesday, Yipungsi the Jubraj returned from escorting the Phiringkis to Tekhao. 17 Sunday, all the markets were provided with buildings and the people were made to move to those buildings. 28 Friday, a tiger was caught at Andro and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. On that day Kanghujam Aangam was hanged for killing a woman.¹⁰

- 1 *Bramahon Sabha*: Literally Association of Brahmins. Later this group came to be known as Brahma Sabha. Though the king was the head of this association of immigrant Brahmins, their counsel to the king was often upheld and the king's position in matters of religion, social structure and attitude towards traditional values were

often under the Brahmins' control. Because of this, not only was the country being ushered into a hegemonical social structure from a traditional egalitarian social make up, but it also made an opening for the subsequent introduction of Hindu caste system. The association became a strong body of Hinduisers in a country which had never been completely Hinduised.

- 2 *Lakhu Jatish Chandrika* was the title of the rewritten almanac.
- 3 *Manipur des*: Kingdom of Manipur. *Des* Bengali for kingdom.
- 4 *Kei Loi*: neighbours with reference to areas.
- 5 *Sna upu chanye*: Kept in the royal box. *Cheitharon Kumpapa* was normally kept in the palace in a box under lock and key.
- 6 As the king was already on the throne and since the Maisnam maiden was also enthroned on her own, this celebration is puzzling.
- 7 *Santan*: Bengali for descendant. Term used for the first time.
- 8 *Thakur Mahasoi*: *Thakur*: Bengali for idol, a person deserving respect. *Mahasoi*: Bengali for gentleman, a term of respect. *Mahashoi* is used for the first time.
- 9 *Chuparaj*: for *Jubraj*, alternative spelling.
- 10 Official hanging practised for the first time.

Chandrapta 1044 [Sakabda 1754 (1832 CE)]

The year of Thangjam Urapa, Chandrapta 1044 [Sakabda 1754 (1832 CE)]. 12 Thursday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 7 Friday, all the four main Institute buildings were inaugurated by Shri Maharaj and Shri Govindaji (image) was taken to the function.¹ The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, the Luwang chief was crowned.² 13 Saturday was the Sangkranti of Kalen. 20 Sunday, *Panda Bamons*³ who came from Jaganath Khetra began to make the image of *Jaganath*.⁴ On that day a tiger was caught at Chingphu and it was presented (to the king). 25 Friday, they began to build twelve wheels (for a cart for *Jaganath*). New moon Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Lamlongkei and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 14 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday. On that day they performed the rite of implanting life⁵ to the image of *Jaganath*. 2 Saturday, they celebrated the cart (festival). Ningthoucham Aapungton, a sepoy, was killed as he was run over by the wheels of the cart. 16 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. 21 Thursday, Ningthem left to inspect Chandrakhong canal. 23 Saturday, he returned. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. On that day the house of Chiton Sahep caught fire. 4 Tuesday, Khunpong the *Lakpa* of Yaisakun died. 7 Friday, they began to build the birth house for the queen. 18 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 22 Saturday, there was a very strong wind. Many Institute buildings were damaged. 25 Tuesday, a purification rite was performed and each man had to pay fifty *sen* (coins).⁶ The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 19 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Tuesday. 20 Sunday, Shri Govindaji's *mantop* caught fire. 21 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. 28 Sunday, a tiger was caught at

Langthapan hill range and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Wednesday. 6 Monday, the people of Sekta caught a tiger and it was presented (to the king). 13 Tuesday, the royal son Sna Aahan was born. 14 Wednesday, a Gosai who was a disciple of Shri Nityananda arrived. 22 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Friday. 4 Monday, Ningthem and the people caught a tiger at Mangsangkei. 21 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 28 Thursday, Ningthem left to attack the Hao villages in the northern region. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 4 Wednesday, Shri Maharaj scattered three clusters of villages of Kachai Haos.⁷ 11 Wednesday, the villages of Thoiwa, Khongtei, Taloimee, and Taloi,⁸ these clusters of villages were scattered. On the full moon Sunday, Sara and Ngangchu, these two villages were scattered. On that day, envoys from the three villages of Aarongmee, Aaphongmee and Oinam were received at court and they paid ten cattle as tribute. On that day, Captain Giran Major Sahep departed from the land of the Meeteis to Kapo to inspect⁹ the land. 17 Tuesday, the main village and the new village of Thingpa, these two villages were scattered. 18 Wednesday, both the main village and the new village of Thingpa, these two villages, came and presented one hundred cattle as tribute. 21 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. On that day, the villages of Yipumee, Yelemee, Yiphemee, Yikhimee, Woinong and Yiwamee, these six clusters of villages were scattered. These villages were on the east of the source of the river Kwai. On the west¹⁰ of (river) Kwai were the clusters of villages of Kasomchi, Sammee, Makheknee and Garanmee. Ten clusters of villages were scattered. On that day, while the Maharaj was staying in Makhan, the villages of Mao Pungtongmee, Pungtongmee Khunou (new village) Thoiyukhu, Manongmee, Yang, Papulangmee, Wamee, Mao Khunlen (main village) and ten clusters of villages of Kasamai came and presented ten cattle each to the Maharaj as their tributes. 25 Tuesday, the villages of Pungtongmee, Yibemnee, Pungkramee, Sebemee, Yisemee, Kaipungmee and Kachungmee, these seven clusters of villages were scattered. On that day Capt. Giran the Major Sahep returned after inspecting the land in Kapo. 26 Wednesday, the villages of Tayang and Mawamee, these two villages were scattered. Many Haos died. They came and presented two hundred cattle as their tributes. Those Haos who were captured were released and freed to return. On the new moon Sunday, the villages of Yisimee, Yichenmee, Likiphimee, and Upungkhokmee, these four clusters of villages came and presented four hundred cattle as their tributes. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. On that day, Khipungmee was scattered and seven people were captured alive in battle. Many Haos died. They stayed one month in that village. 3 Thursday, (the people of) Upithonmee came and presented one hundred cattle as a tribute. 6 Sunday, the royal son Snayaima Jaibir Singh the Senapati left Khipumee for Tekhao. 8 Tuesday, (the people of) Khipumee came and presented one hundred cattle as tribute so that they might be allowed to enter their village. 9 Wednesday, two clusters of villages of Ngamei Khunou and Khunlen,

and two clusters of villages of Ngakhunou Khunlen these four villages came and presented four hundred cattle and one ivory tusk as their tributes. After this, they came and presented one hundred baskets of sesame seeds and made a request if they might pay their tributes with one hundred baskets each of sesame seeds. 21 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 25 Thursday, Shri Meetingu Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj had carvings made on *Khutha* and *Namnga*, these two stones,¹¹ by the bank of the pool of the water spring at Khipumee. On the Khutha stone his footprints were carved, and on the Namnga stone, the figures of *Nongsa* and *Santou*¹² were also carved. (When the carving was completed) Shri Maharaj celebrated *Nunghongpa*, (the dedication of stones), with all the Hao villages, with a feast at which (the meat) of one buffalo, two goats and one hundred pigs was served. On that day, the villages of Meramechamee, Tonnoichamee, Pitthemee Khunou, Wutawasamee, Wahame, and Khisamee, these six clusters of Hao villages, presented six hundred cattle as their tributes. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday, Shri Jaibir Singh the Jubraj returned from Tekhao. 13 Monday, Meetingu Chinglen Nongtren Khompa Maharaj returned at the palace at Langthapan. 16 Thursday, there was an earthquake. 22 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 10 Sunday, they built a wall round the palace at Langthapan. 22 Thursday was Bisu *Sankranti*.

- 1 This was the first time a Hindu image was involved in an inauguration ceremony.
- 2 There had not been the crowning of Luwang chiefs or kings since the confederation was formed, though Angom and Moirang chiefs were mentioned as being appointed and crowned.
- 3 *Panda Bamons*: Hindu priest stationed at a particular temple as opposed to the peripatetic Hindu priests and monks.
- 4 *Jaganath*: Image associated with the Hindu cart festival.
- 5 *Jibanas*: for *jibanyas*: Sanskrit. A Hindu religious rite by which soul or spirit is believed to be endowed into a carving, a cast, or any inanimate object, by those officiating the rite.
- 6 Obscure. No reason given why the purification rite was required but a monetary price was put on it.
- 7 *Kachai Hao khun*: Probably the Kacha Naga villages.
- 8 *Thoiwa 1, Khongtei 1, Taloimei 1, Taloi 1*: Putting the numerical 1 after the names of each of the villages is the scribal style of listing the villages and does not indicate one village in the cluster of villages.
- 9 *Chengpa*: Scribal error for *yengpa*, to inspect.
- 10 *Nongpup*: scribal error for *nongchup*, west.
- 11 These stone carvings are still in Kohima, the capital of Nagaland (Lairenmayum Ibungohal, *Introduction to Manipur*, Second Edition, 1963, p. 133, Imphal).
- 12 *Nongsa* and *Santou*: *Nongsa* is the carving of a mythical lion's head which became the state emblem of the Kingdom of Manipur. The carving of the footprints indicates political subjugation. *Santou*: probably refers to *sandang*, i.e., mythun. Mithun was used in important religious sacrifices both by the people in the hills and pre-Hindu Meetei kings in the valley.

Chandrapta 1045 [Sakabda 1755 (1833 CE)]

The year of Ningthoujamba Naba, Chandrapta 1045 [Sakabda 1755 (1833 CE)]. 23 Friday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 23 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 4 Thursday, the king of Somsok of Kapo presented to Ningthem one male elephant which had grown tusks, one horse and three gold guiled canopies. 13 Friday, the royal son, Sna Aahan, had the *Chakwumpa* ceremony. 24 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 10 Thursday, Yipungsi Netrajit was expelled to the land of Aawa as it was said that he had made an attempt on the throne. 27 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Thursday. Thursday new moon was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. It was an intercalary month. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Monday. 3 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. There was an earthquake on that day. 22 Tuesday, the people of Moirang caught two tigers and both were presented (to the king). The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 2 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 13 Tuesday, the Bara Sahep who was in Calcutta said that the Aawas were making a plea for those who were living at Yipan, saying that they had no land where they could cultivate paddy. For this reason Manipur Raja Sahep was requested to allow the Aawas to cultivate the Kapo Valley, at a rent of *Tangkha* six thousand per year. As Shri Maharaj disagreed with this proposal, Capt. Giran Major Sahep, Pempton Sahep and Achiton Sahep, these three Saheps left (for) Aawa to hand over the land (Kabo Valley) to the tenants.¹ Full moon Thursday, there was a lunar eclipse. On that day the royal eldest son Snahal Chandrakriti scattered 100 *lakhs* of *sen* in the Snakeithen market. 16 Friday, Shri Maharaj performed the Haraoba festival to Laiyingthou Pakhangpa.² Shrijut Maharaj and Maharani and all the nobles of the land along with their wives danced at this celebration. 19 Monday, they returned from the old palace after having completed the Haraoba to Pakhangpa. 28 Tuesday, Shrijut Maharaj began to feel unwell. New moon Thursday, Meetingu Chinglen Nongtren Khompa died at the age of forty-seven years.

- 1 *Aawataki lam piba chatle*: literally left (for) Aawa in order to hand over the land. Under the agreement of 25 January 1834 (signed by Grant and Pemberton) the British agreed to lease the Kabaw Valley to the Burmese for a fee of six thousand 'Sicca Rupees' annually paid to the Maharaj. The Manipuris were not consulted. After the Indian take over of Manipur in 1949, the Kabaw Valley was handed over to Burma (Aawa) by Nehru on his second visit to Manipur in 29–31 March, 1953, when he met U. Nu in Imphal to discuss on the Indo-Burma border, without any consultation or compensation to Manipur.
- 2 Pakhangpa is the founding ancestor of the Ningthoujas of the Meetei clan. Haraoba is the pleasing ceremony in honour of the spirit of the ancestor.

CHANDRAKRITI SINGH (THE MINOR KING) WITH NARA SINGH THE SENAPATI AS THE REGENT

Chandrapta 1045¹ [Sakabda 1755–1765 (1833–1843 CE)]

[The year of Ningthoujamba Naba, Chandrapta 1045 Sakabda 1755 (1833 CE)]. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. New moon Thursday) the royal prince Chandrakriti Singh became king at the age of two years.² The royal younger brother Nara Singh the Senapati with most of the nobles of the land began to protect the country. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 12 Wednesday, the three Saheps who went to Aawa and handed the lease of the land (Kabaw Valley) returned. 18 Tuesday, Pemton Sahep and Jaibir Singh the Jubraj, these two left for Mayang. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Sunday. 2 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 9 Tuesday, Bamon Laimayum Puntri Pakeswar of Kiashya and Chingngakhampa Mini the *Senlungpa*, these two left with the frontal bone³ of Shri Maharaj for Brintabon (Brindabon). The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 3 Thursday, there was an earthquake and there was also a strong gale. Many houses were damaged. 8 Tuesday, as Yipungsi Tarangkhompma made an attempt on the throne he was expelled to Mayang. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. 2 Friday was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 Only *Chantrapta* dating is used.
- 2 'Chandrakriti Singh became king' scribal insertion at the margin of the *P.Ms.* As he was a minor, his uncle Nara Singh acted as the Regent.
- 3 *Chintamani*: Bengali for Manipuri *Lu* or frontal bone. Term used for the first time.

Chantrapta 1046 [Sakabda 1756 (1834 CE)]

The year of Moirang Mukinta, Chantrapta 1046 [Sakabda 1756 (1834 CE)]. 3 Saturday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 16 Thursday, Shri Ypungsi Nara Singh the Senapati became the Jubraj. 20 Monday, there was a very strong gale. Many buildings including the Kangla building were damaged. 21 Tuesday, the branch of the pupil tree at Chingkhampam broke. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 4 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 6 Wednesday, the cannon which was kept by Meetingu Chingthangkhompma in Chandrapur was brought up and it reached the (old palace). Full moon Friday, the eldest child of Shri Yibungsi Nara Singh the Jubraj died. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 6 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 8 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of the Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Wednesday. 11 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Thursday. 13 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. 26 Monday, the chief royal racing barge for Shrijut, which was made out of the *Wuningthou* teak which was felled by

the *Keirungpa* of the keepers of paddy granaries, arrived from the area of Suknu. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Saturday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 13 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. 13 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. 18 Wednesday, one hog deer was caught alive at the Polo ground. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. 6 Saturday, they attacked Phapalok Wairangpa. 13 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 13 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. 23 Thursday, a Gosai left. 27 Monday, sixty boxes of gunpowder weighing seven *maunds*¹ arrived. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 6 Wednesday Shrijut Maharaj had his hair shaved.² 8 Friday,³ Giran Sahep left to attack the Haos in the area of Kapo. 12 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 20 Wednesday, as the Haos of Mupacharong regarded the words of the people from the land of the Mayangs as if spoken to a servant⁴ (and thus ignored it), the village was devastated (by those from Mayang). They captured ten people in the battle, including Maichampa. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Saturday. 12 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 14 Monday was Pisu (Bisu) *Sangkranti*.

- 1 Seven *Maunds*: Indian weight measure used before kilogram was introduced. 7 maunds = 261.24 kg. (1 *maund* = 37.32 kg.)
- 2 *Chura karan*: Bengali, conflation of two terms, *chura*, tuft on the top, meaning hair in this context, *karan*, noun of verb to do, shaving off the hair on the head. Later, amongst the Meeteis, this practice was coincided with the ear piercing rite (which is a traditional custom), with the shaving off the birth hair of the baby for both the male and female child. Only a *Napet*, a Mayang barber, can shave off the hair and thus his presence became a necessity in the community. Term used for the first time and practice has been mentioned.
- 3 8 Friday: dittography.
- 4 *Yisa nai saiye haituna*: *yisa*: self, *nai saiye*: to be in the role of a servant, *haituna*: as was spoken: 'you are treating me as if I am your servant,' a reflection on the nature of the order. They considered such orders as making them servants. Alternatively: *Yisanaisai haituna* conflation of *yisa* self, *nai* servant, *sai* from *saba* to act; meaning to act treacherously; *haituna* on account of, for. For acting treacherously.

Sakabda 1757 (1835 CE)

The year of Yambemba Syam, Sakabda 1757¹ (1835 CE). 14 Sunday was the *Sangkranti*² and the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Tuesday. 16 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. 19 Saturday, *Gran Sahep* came and presented one male and three female elephants to Shri Maharaj³ on behalf of the Company. 23 Wednesday, Shri the chief of Aangom and all the other nobles were reinstated at their posts. New moon Wednesday, when there was a forecast from the foreigners of India that

there would be an eclipse,⁴ the Manipuri Pundits said that there would not be an eclipse. There was no eclipse. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 9 Friday, one Muslim woman servant of the Saheps was punished by *khunkoinapa* public shaming. 10 Saturday, there was an earthquake. 14 Wednesday, the foreigners said there would be a lunar eclipse and the Manipuri Pundits said there would not be an eclipse. There was no eclipse. 18 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 27 Tuesday, the people of Moirang caught a tiger and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 3 Monday, the Marings caught a tiger from Langkon and it was presented (to the king). 20 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. Full moon Saturday, a tiger was caught in the foothills of the Nongmaiching mountain and it was presented (to the king). 21 Friday, a Gosai arrived from the land of the Mayangs. 22 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. 25 Wednesday, Shri Jubraj (taking the image of) Shri Bishnu (inaugurated) the new market and the people began to attend the market. New moon Monday, a tiger was caught by the people of Kumphri and they came and presented it to the king. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 23 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Wednesday. 3 Friday, when the Kale chief came and made a plea to Ningthem that what was to be his tribute payment (cattle) had been killed by the Phamnung Haos, Giran Sahep⁵ and Konsapa Major, these two, left to attack the Phamnung Haos. 24 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 8 Thursday, a play named *Kalidomon* was staged at the confluence of the river at Langthapan. 24 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangei. On that day Kiran (Giran) Sahep and Konsapa Major returned. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Saturday. 7 Thursday, Giran Sahep left. 24 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 5 Thursday, Laisram Puranwa caught a tiger and he came and presented it to the king. 9 Monday, Shri Senapati along with Maisnam Major and others left to attack the Haos in the northern region. 11 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 24 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 16 Wednesday, a tiger was caught. 21 Monday, the temple and the *mantop* of Shri Govindaji caught fire. 24 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Wednesday. 8 Wednesday, Shri Senapati returned after attacking the Haos. (The Haos) came and made their tribute payments with three servants⁶ and three elephant's tusks. 9 Friday⁷ they began to build Shri Govindaji's *mantop*. 17 Saturday, the Institute buildings of sword-smiths, king's guards, guards of the royal ladies, and the Pheita (eunuchs), these four buildings were burnt. 25 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 28 Tuesday, Chaklabi, a Hao from Mayangkhang, was arrested as he was found climbing up the area of *Men*.⁸ He was sent back to his village. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Friday. 8 Friday, the inhabitants of the four *Leikais* (housing areas) repaired the roads. 13 Thursday, the temple and the *mantop* of Shri Gobindaji were dedicated. 16 Saturday, Aachoipa the conscript, who held the post of the chief of Moirang and

Khunbong Major, these two returned after being successful in their attack of the Haos of Khaki.⁹ Laisrapa Kumbha Sing and Aarampa, these two lost their lives in battle. Shri Maton Yibungo the Jubraj gave a feast to all the *subidars* and the *jamandars*. 20 Wednesday, Ningthem caught four tigers at Keipathong Chingchip. 25 Monday was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Chantrapta* dating has been dropped.
- 2 *Kut Sangkranti*: *Kut*: scribal error.
- 3 Term *Maharaj*, *Maharaja*, *Maharacha* are used interchangeably.
- 4 *Turon*: scribal error for *Grohon*. Bengali for eclipse.
- 5 *Giran Sahep*: Lt. Gordon, first Political Agent in Manipur.
- 6 *Nai*: servants. There was no slavery as such in Manipur. The Manipuri kings had *Hao Macha Loisang* and *Aayokpa Loisang*, where boys and young men, from both the hills and plains lived, for whom the kings were responsible. Seems to refer back to the previous sentence.
- 7 Discrepancy by one day.
- 8 *Men* is the opening of a cave in Kangla, the palace compound of the Meetei kings. This area is regarded as sacred. The crowning of Meetei kings takes place here.
- 9 *Khaki Haos*: Haos of Chinese origin.

Sakabda 1758 (1836 CE)

The year of Soraisam Surapa, Sakabda 1758 (1836 CE). 26 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 27 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. On that day Shri Manao Yipungo the Senapati and others marched up to Maklang as they heard that Yipungsi Tarangkhompma had come to claim the throne. They returned as it turned out not to be true. 4 Thursday, one hog deer was caught in the palace complex. 16 Tuesday, a male servant of Longjamba Gourahari the *Laimanai*¹ of *Lai Snamahi*² at Leisangkhong was deported (to *Loi*) to Suknu as it was said that he had killed one Longjam maiden. His master was deported (to *Loi*) to Hungkun. 17 Wednesday, Louremba the *Phamtou*, Naoriya the *Phamtou*, Ningthoukhongja the *Huiroi*, Lairenjampa the *Tulaipaba*,³ Aoina Sangkoipa the *Hitang* and Wahengpa the *Lakpa* of granary hands, these six people were sent by the nobles of the Cheirap court to investigate the homicide case. They came with the report that the victim was not killed by any human being but was a victim of a tiger's attack. All six of them including the *Phamthous* lost their posts and they were also deported to *Loi*.⁴ 28 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Wednesday. 9 Thursday, a person who committed murder at Kumphu was brought up. 18 Friday, as Tongbram Pebam was found to have thrown a written paper⁵ into the royal palace, he was made to become a labourer in the salt mine. The month of Yinga (May/June) was intercalary. Thursday, the first day of the lunar month was the *Sangkranti* of Yingen. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Langan. The month of **Langan**

(August/September) began on Tuesday. 5 Saturday was the *Sangkranti* of Mera. Full moon Monday, there was a lunar eclipse. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 6 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 5 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Poinu. 11 Sunday, one Phiringki Sahep arrived. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 4 Tuesday, lightning struck the *mantop* of Giran Sahep. 5 Wednesday was the *Sangkranti* of Wakching. Full moon Saturday, they cut off the tusks of the king's personal elephant. 16 Sunday, Shrijut Kriti Singh Maharaj had the ear-piercing rite. 21 Monday, both Konsapa Major and Khunbong Major returned after attacking the Khaki Haos. 23 Monday, Thongngaipa Subidar was made to try out a newly made bomb. 25 Tuesday, there was an earthquake. As the day for gifts of benefaction⁶ fell on Sunday new moon, Shri Jubraj presented gold, silver and many other gifts to Shri *Guru*, the (Hindu) spiritual guide, the temple steward and all the new clerks.⁷ Lairenlakpa astrologer was permitted to wear gold earrings of the weight of one eighth of an ounce.⁸ The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Monday. 5 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Phairen. 25 Thursday, the sepoys caught a tiger and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Tuesday. 6 Sunday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. 16 Thursday, the sepoys caught a tiger from Leisangkhong ravine and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Thursday. On that day Yipungsi Snahal Tarangkhompa, who had marched from the land of the Mayangs with his younger brothers Kekrutapa, Yipungsi Thoukai Ngampa, and others along with one hundred and thirty sepoys, reached Maklang to make an attempt on the throne of Manipur. The Royal younger brother Shri Senapati and others including Konsapa Major, Khumbong Major and five hundred sepoys, confronted them in a battle at Maklang. Snahal Tarangkhonpa and his younger brother Kekrupat Tapa died.⁹ They also captured alive in the battle Yibungsi Thoukanai Ngampa, along with Meeyengpa Syam, Aoina Khentampa, Maisnam Paja, Khunthoupa and others, a total of one hundred people. They also took twenty men dead. Maisnam Chandrapta and others, a total of fifteen men, fled back to the land of the Mayangs. 2 Friday, the royal younger brother Shri Senapati returned from the battle at Maklang. Shri Jubraj, the beneficent, after giving some thought over the episode and judging the situation, arrived at a good decision and deported Yipungsi Thoukai Ngampa to *Loi* to Thangka. As for all those who were captured, they were all set free, and asked all those who were their kith and kin to receive them back as adopted members into their families. But as for Konchengpa the *Keirungpa*, all his belongings were confiscated as he was found as having acted treacherously¹⁰ and he was also deported to *Loi* to Waikok. 9 Wednesday, Chura the *Keirungpa* also had all his belongings confiscated and he himself was deported to *Loi* to Soisa Kameng. Thangchapa Tara, Aoina, Snapa, Aaya, Thiya, and Yumnapa, these six also were deported to *Loi* as they were found taking part in the attempt on the throne. 2 Friday,¹¹ the Haos of Manthak caught a tiger and they presented it to the king. 6 Tuesday was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 *Laimanai*: literally the servant of a *Lai* (divinity). His task consists in attending to the requirements of the *lai* and the *lai's* shrine.
- 2 *Snamahi*: alternatively *Sanamahi*, the Supreme High God of the Meeties who is not represented in any form or kind.
- 3 *Tulaipaba* or *Dolaipaba*: a royal post whose task consisted in enforcing law and order and arresting suspected people when necessary. Sometimes this power was abused and he became a much feared person by the general public. He was answerable to the king. Term used for the first time.
- 4 No further detail is given as to why these six who investigated the murder case were all punished and deported.
- 5 *Lairik*: literally a book. But also used for a written message.
- 6 *Arthadai*: Sanskrit, a day when beneficiary gifts were presented. Conflation of *Artha*: wealth, substance, *dai*, from root *da*, a donation, a present; especially given on a particular day. In this context gifts to Brahmins for their good pleasure. Term used for the first time.
- 7 *Aacharja Guru*: Hindu spiritual guide; *Bebashtakari*: Bengali for *byabaskari*: steward, in this context steward over the temple, *Noboratan*: new clerks to the Brahmins. Terms used for the first time.
- 8 *San ani*: 2 *sans*. *San* weight measurement used for gold and silver. 4 *sans* = 1 *tola*, 4 *tolas* = 1 oz. 2 *san* = .125 oz.
- 9 *Shri Bribdabanta thuple*: The phrase is euphemism for death. *Thuple*: died. *Shri Brindaban*: Hindu sacred place, *ta*: suffix at or to. Phrase used for the first time.
- 10 *Yisanaisai haituna*: conflation of *yisa*: self, *nai*: servant. *sai*: from *saba* to act: meaning to act treacherously; *haituna*: on account of, for. For acting treacherously. The term *yisanaisai* is used for the first time.
- 11 The month, probably Sachiphu, is missing.

Sakabda 1759 (1837 CE)

The year of Naorem Hari, Sakabda 1759 (1837 CE). 7 Wednesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Friday. 7 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Sunday. 9 Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Monday. 14 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Thawan.¹ The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 16 Friday was the *Sangkranti* of Langpan. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. 17 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Saturday. It was declared that Yimphan² was overpopulated and by royal order a census of the households in the four *Leikais*³ was taken. A census was also taken of the households in the villages. Lairikyengpa Narasing, Laiphrakpa the *Phamtou* and *Singchupa*⁴ of the four *Panas* were involved in taking the census. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 17 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. Khuntrakpa Khanpa the sword-smith killed Laisrapa Khokintra with the stroke of the sword. Then he fled to Aawa. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 16 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 17 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching**

(December/January) began on Saturday. 16 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began Sunday. 16 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 27 Friday, the Phiringkis arrived with guns, four cannons, gun powder, and sixty columns of soldiers to invade Aawa. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Monday. 9 Tuesday, fire broke out at the Kangla building. The throne and the main *pung* drum *Yaipung*, these two were burnt. 16 Wednesday was Pisu (Bisu) *Sangkranti*.

- 1 The month of Yingen is missing.
- 2 *Yimphan*: Present Imphal city.
- 3 *Leikai*: Though literally *Leikai* refers to a lane with dwelling houses by this time each of them had become more like suburbs.
- 4 *Singchupa*: Obscure.

Sakabda 1760 (1838 CE)

The year of Yumnam Hingampa, Sakabda 1760 (1838 CE). 17 Thursday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 18 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. A polo tournament was held between the nobles of the country and the elders who had been chosen. Full moon Friday, five gun shots were fired to summon and alert the people that Yibungsija Jakindra Sing had marched from Mayang (to attempt to seize the throne of Manipur). The whole country assembled. Yipungsi the Senapati along with Haobam Binod the *Mantri*, Konsapa and Leisang Majors, marched to battle. 18 Monday, they defeated Yipungsi Jakindra Sing and his brothers, the three of them at the area of the Aakhui Haos. 21 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. 23 Friday, the Senapati returned from his march to battle at Aakhui. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. 7 Friday, all those nobles who sat at the Cheirap Court were dismissed on the ground of maladministration. 15 Full moon Saturday, as it was said that Khetra had killed a horse, he was detained. 22 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 25 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 27 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, there was an earthquake. Full moon Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 27 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Friday. 5 Tuesday, Thounaojam Cha Mareipa Subidar along with Khatri Sahep, these two and others began to repair the road leading to Mayang. 27 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Sunday. 21 Friday, Yipungsi Huinaitapa the *Lakpa* of Khwai left to attack Korek. 28 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Tuesday. 27 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Wednesday. 5 Sunday, two Phiringkis and fifty sepoy arrived at Samupan. 24 Friday, Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Khwai returned after attacking Konlek (Korek). 26 Sunday was the *Sangkranti*

of Phairen. 28 Tuesday, Mangsatapa¹ the *Keirungpa* took the frontal bones of his royal father Nongchup Lamkai Ngampa, his royal uncle Soton Sing, Yipungsi Pachahanpa Jata Sing, and Thakur Panchanon to Shri Brindabon to be buried² there and also to build a memorial shrine at the *Sudebi* grove. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 27 Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Lamta. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 28 Tuesday was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

1 Mangsatam: Scribal error for Mangsatapa or Mangsatabam.

2 *Samadhi*: Bengali for tomb, grave. Term used for the first time.

Sakabda 1761 (1839 CE)

The year of Saraisam Hari, Sakabda 1861 (1839 CE). The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Saturday. 16 Monday, Yipungsi the Jubraj's¹ daughter Sija married to Laisom family died. 20 Saturday, Meeyengpam Tharma Sing (was caught) committing adultery with a Wangngu woman who was the wife of Waikha Nimai. He was punished by public shaming, *khunkoinapa* in the market place. As for the Wangngu woman Chaopi, she was given to the man and he was made to become a resident of Wangngu.² 28 Saturday, (representatives) from seven clusters of villages of the Haos of the northern region were received at court. New moon Monday was the *Sangkranti* of Kalen. Kalen was an intercalary month. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. 8 Wednesday, Aangoupanba Debamani died. 10 Friday, Yibungs the Jubraj shot a tiger in Sakonpan.³ Yensenpam Tamra died after a tiger had bitten him. 14 Tuesday, Shrijut Maharaj caught a tiger behind the Hiyangthang area. It was caught alive. The chief of Moirang and Haopam the *Mantri*, these two, lost their posts as they were found to have been late in hunting the tiger.⁴ All those who were officials also were deported to *Loi*. But they were summoned back immediately and mustered and punished in pairs for one whole day at Linlong. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Friday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 5 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. On that day, news reached Manipur that a cow named *Kamdheni* had been brought from the land of the Mayangs. Lairen Lakpam Chaopa was summoned and asked (as to when the cow would arrive). He gave the answer that it would arrive on Friday 8. Without fail it arrived. It was milked immediately and the milk was offered to the *lai*. 20 Wednesday, they began to milk the cow twice a day.⁵ 21 Thursday, they took a cannon to the top of the hill (and fired it) to open up the river. 27 Tuesday, they shot a tiger at Lamsang. They also tormented the tiger and *Keiyang Thekpa* took place.⁶ 28 Thursday, Yibungsi the Jubraj shot a tiger at Kekrupan. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Saturday. On that day Shri Jubraj shot a tiger. He also caught one *Kharisa* and one *nongkoup*,⁷ these two were caught alive. *Nogkoup* was listed amongst the prisoners caught in battle. 2 Sunday, they began to build a *Keipung* mound⁸ by the four entrances to the *leikais* at Mongsangkei. 4 Tuesday,

Yipungsi the Jubraj also caught a tiger at Nampun. 6 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. 8 Saturday, Shri Jubraj caught a tiger at the area of Guruchi Phura Makhong. 10 Monday, they inaugurated the *Keipung*. 18 Sunday, Shri Jubraj caught a tiger at the Kyang homestead which was in the palace complex. He fought with the tiger and then performed the *Keiyang Thekpa*. It is still buried as the base of the *Yoiren* Institute building.⁹ The Keipung market (was opened) and the people were made to attend them. Naoriya the Astrologer was sent to Aawang Lamkhangwaipi (at the northern region) to start to build a *song*.¹⁰ Many elephants were caught and Naoriya the astrologer was rewarded with a *pari* of paddy field. 25 Tuesday, Shri Jubraj caught a tiger at Sangaiprou. On that day, Kongkha the Astrologer was sent to start to build a house for elephants in Karong. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Sunday. 3 Tuesday, Shri Jubraj caught a nursing tigress alive in Aangom village. 7 Sunday, they found the tiara¹¹ of Shri Gopindaji out of position. They offered a feast. On that day, fifty sepoy were killed at Awang Haorampoi Sekpao by the Haos of the northern region. Three tiger cubs were also caught alive and they were presented to the king. The *Sangkranti* of Langpan also began. 8 Monday, nine thousand sepoy with three majors left. 9 Tuesday, Shri Jubraj caught a tiger in Moitangpok. As they were erecting a flag for the chief of Aangom, a thunderbolt struck the place. 14 Sunday, Yipungsi the *Pacha Hanpa* died. 14 Thursday, the army officers of the sepoy, who went to (meet) the Haos at the northern region, were put in chains as they were found not showing initiative.¹² 21 Saturday, a play called *Sanji* was staged after dusk at Leisang Hiten anchoring place on a wooden stage, which was built on wooden planks laid across two anchored barges and held fast with wedges. 25 Wednesday, those who had marched to the northern area and who had been put in chains were freed from their chains. 26 Thursday, the Jubraj had the *Nouka* play staged.¹³ There was also an earthquake that day. 27 Friday, a tiger was caught at Ningthoukhong and it was presented (to the king). New moon Monday, three hares, a pair of *Nongtharaichuppa* pigeons,¹⁴ two cranes which were as big as swans, one parrot which was as big as a crow,¹⁵ five double-barrelled guns, one mirror as big as a winnowing fan, and a clock¹⁶ which tells the time, were brought from the land of the west. From that day onwards daily fire offering¹⁷ to the (Hindu) *lais* at dusk was performed according to the time given by the clock. They also established an Institute of time-keeping.¹⁸ Ningombam Cha was appointed the Subidar of that Institute. (The clock) was imported from Britain. On that day, the staging of *Sanji* play also came to an end. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Tuesday. 2 Wednesday, all the four *Panas* erected a stone at Keipung mound. The astrologer fixed the auspicious time. 8 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 14 Monday, Loitam Major, Sanlam Major and Leisang Major, these three, returned from the battle in the northern region. They captured five people in the battle. 17 Thursday, all those in responsible posts in the northern region, who came back without being ordered (to return), were put in chains. 23 Wednesday, 140 sepoy from the east marched and devastated Nungbi Nunghar. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Thursday. 6 Tuesday, one Gosai arrived. 8 Thursday was the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei. The month of

Hiyangkei (October/November) began on Saturday. One Hao in Keirao pierced a woman with a spear while he was stealing cattle. 4 Tuesday, (the king said) 'concerning the case of Bamon Debindra which had been settled and on which a verdict had been given in the past: since some of you have now raised an objection to it, this Thakur whom you refuse to accept, is to live in a village'. Thus he was made to live in a village.¹⁹ 8 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 9 Sunday, two sons of the *Lakpa* of Huntung village came and paid homage to Shri Jubraj. 12 Tuesday, a woman died while collecting fire-wood in Langmaiching mountain. 13 Wednesday, the Moirangs caught a tiger and it was presented (to the king). 17 Sunday, Yipungsi the Senapati and others left to hunt elephants. Aangom Rasamani was appointed Aangoupampa, the chief of Aangom. Yipungsi Huinaitapa and Yipungsi the *Lourung Puren*, these two were appointed ministers. 25 Monday, four men were attacked by an elephant. One died. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday. 8 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 9 Monday, there was an earthquake. All those who went to hunt elephants returned as they did not find any. 20 Thursday, *Mahasoi*²⁰ Thakur went back. 29 Sunday was *Aarthajai* (*Aarthadai*). The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 3 Thursday, a tiger was caught at Yairipok and it was presented (to the king). 4 Friday, two Saheps, along with Thoukrao the *Subidar* and others, arrived after making the road from Chandrapur up to Lammatong. The distance from Changkat in Jiri up to Samupan was six *lakh* one thousand and eighty-one *lams* and three *khunings*.²¹ 5 Saturday, a man died in Chaching. 6 Sunday, Yipungsi the Senapati and others went to hunt elephants. 8 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 12 Friday, they began to build the Garot (court) building. 18 Thursday, they began to build many buildings for the royal ladies. 20 Saturday, two elephants arrived within two *pung* hours after the dusk *yuthak*. 21 Sunday, one elephant with protruding trunks arrived. 23 Tuesday, a mentally deranged Bamon from the Leihaothabam family was found sitting on the throne. The Jubraj told him not to do so. He was told not to do it again.²² He was given one *san* weight of gold. New moon Wednesday, there was a solar eclipse. The month **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. 2 Friday, a member of Hongnengsumpam family died of Sudden Adult Death Syndrome²³ at Kangngathong. 9 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 10 Friday, Yipungsi the Jubraj caught a tiger behind Samourou. On his way back when a wild bore came running towards him, he caught that one too. 12 Sunday, two tigers were caught at Keinou. Yipungsi the Jubraj also caught another tiger at Ngaching khong canal. 20 Friday, the Cheirap (court) building was blown down by a gale. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 3 Saturday, Yipungsi Jubraj caught one tiger, one antelope and four hog-deer at Chaopok. Two tigers were also caught by the Haos at the old palace complex and they were presented (to the king). 5 Tuesday, a cannon shaped like a cone of home spun cotton which was found²⁴ at Langpok was presented to the king. 9 Friday, Yipungsi the Senapati, Debendro Sing and others went to Yichai. 10 Saturday was Bisu *Sangkranti*. On that day they counted the population of tigers and inscribed the number on the stone at Keipung mound. In one year a total of twenty-six tigers were caught by Yipungsi the Jubraj.

- 1 *Chuparacha*: for *Jubraj*.
- 2 *Wangngu*: Wangngu was considered to be one of the *Loi* areas after Hinduisation. It was also used for deportation.
- 3 Phrase, caught a tiger with the gun.
- 4 Regular tiger hunts were essential to control tiger population for public safety.
- 5 Normally Manipuri cows are milked only once as they do not produce muck milk. Introduction of a different breed of cattle.
- 6 There may be some textual displacement at this point.
- 7 *Kharisa* and *Nongkoupi*: *Kharisa*: probably hog deer. *Nongkoupi*: pied crested cuckoo, *clamator jaconus*.
- 8 *Keipung*: conflation of *kei*: tiger, *pung*: mound. Probably was a commemorative mound to celebrate the successful tiger hunt. Term used for the first time.
- 9 *Yoirensang pham thariye*: *Yoiren*: another name for *Maipis*, the religious functionaries. *Yoirensang*: Institute building of the *Maipis*. *Pham*: base, area. *Thariye*: from verb *thaba*: to place. The suffix *riye* indicates an accomplished act and at the same time still continues to be. The term *Yoirensang* is used for the first time. The practice of burying beasts at the base of a post for a bridge or of an important building was common.
- 10 *Sok*: A scribal error for *song*. *Song*: A land trap used by the Meeteis to catch wild elephants in which a specific area is enclosed with trenches all around it leaving only one opening on the path the elephants normally take. After the elephants have entered the enclosure the opening is blocked with big logs.
- 11 *Mukut*: Bengali for tiara. Term used for the first time.
- 12 *Khatpa heite*: *Khatpa*: verb to flirt. *heite*: not to know how to perform certain actions. In this context, not showing initiative. Term used for the first time.
- 13 *Nouka*: Bengali, boat plying on the water. A play involving boats. Term used for the first time.
- 14 *Nongtharaichuppa*: obscure. Probably rainbow-coloured pigeon.
- 15 Crows in Manipur are bigger than the crows in Cachar.
- 16 *Khari*: for *Ghari*, Bengali for clock.
- 17 *Sandhya arti*: Bengali for fire offering at dusk to the Hindu images before they are put to bed. The phrase 'fire offering' is used for the first time.
- 18 Manipur had its own system of time reckoning. Please see Vol.1. p.154.
- 19 This was a case amongst the immigrant Brahmins and making him live in a village indicates his removal from the court circle.
- 20 Bengali for male, gentleman. Term used for the first time.
- 21 *Khuning*: distance from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow of an adult, used as a measurement. Term used for the first time.
- 22 Phrase 'told him not to do so': scribal dittography.
- 23 *Manglaknatuna*: *tuna*: because of *manglaknaba*: *Mang*, grave, dream *laknaba*: that one may come to, or to struggle. Death by *manglaknaba* happens only while asleep. Term used for the first time.
- 24 *Khangpa*: to know, scribal error for *Phangpa*, to find.

Sakabda 1762 (1840 CE)

The year of Chomjonpa Rupa, Sakabda 1762 (1840 CE). 11 Sunday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 13 Tuesday, an epidemic

of cholera broke out beginning from this day. Six thousand people died. No one entered in another person's house. They could not carry out the last rites (of cremating the bodies). 19 Tuesday, those who went to hunt elephants returned. They caught seventeen elephants. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. It was the second day of the lunar month. 7 Friday, Yipungsi the *Mantri* died. Two wives of Yipungsi the *Senapati* also died. 11 Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of **Kalen** began. 12 Wednesday, the chief of Moirang was appointed. 29 Saturday, the chief barge which was in the boat house was found to have warped with its prow pointing upwards towards the northern direction. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Monday. 2 Tuesday, they performed an appeasement rite at the anchoring place.¹ 7 Saturday, they began the dramatic reading of *Prem Tarangkini*.² 12 Thursday, by damming up and making a small opening at the Leisang Hiten anchoring place, they drained the water and then they began to look for fish. They caught forty *sareng* fish.³ 13 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of **Yinga** began. 14 Sunday, once again they looked for fish. They caught sixty *sareng* fish. 16 Tuesday, they performed a great feast⁴ for *Shri Jaganath*. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Tuesday. 9 Wednesday, Gosai Thakur was married to the daughter of Bamon Gantharaj. 10 Thursday, while pulling the cart for the (Hindu) cart festival,⁵ a man was killed. 13 Sunday, a cow belonging to Lairenjam family had a calf with two heads. Full moon Tuesday, the *Sangkranti* of **Yingen** began. 19 Saturday, a small stone found in Narankonchin expanded to seven *lams* in circumference.⁶ It was also reported to the king that in Thoupun Tomching three sparrows died in the embryo. 26 Saturday, a Gosai read publicly a written section of a book before the (image) of *Shri Brindaban Chandra*. The Jubraj offered one *san* of gold. The month of **Yinga** (May/June)⁷ began on Wednesday. 11 Sunday, they carried a large quantity of water to be used for *Julon*.⁸ 16 Friday the *Sangkranti* of **Thawan** began. 29 Wednesday,⁹ the *Senapati* and others left for Kangla Tongpi to hunt elephants. New moon Thursday, the astrologers of Nabatip (Nabwadip) said that there would be a solar eclipse but the pundits of Manipur said that there would not be an eclipse. The eclipse did not take place. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Friday. 2 Saturday, four elephants including one which had grown tusks arrived. 18 Monday the *Sangkranti* of **Langpan** began. The month of **Langpan** (August/September) began on Saturday. Full moon Sunday, the cannon was re-located.¹⁰ 16 Monday, there was thundering at Koubru.¹¹ 20 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of **Mera** began. 23 Sunday, a cow was killed by an elephant and they performed a Hindu ritual cleansing. 24 Monday, a mouse as big as a cat and with stripes was brought for Kamalakanta. 29 Saturday, as the Khongchai Haos came to *Snakhwa*¹² and pleaded that the people (Khongchais) from the South had devastated them, Yipungsi the *Senapati* and others with fifteen sepoy marched to battle. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Monday. 3 Wednesday, a fully grown elephant died. 10 Wednesday, they began to build the main Institute building for Laipham (*Pana*). 20 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of **Hiyangkei** began. 29 Sunday, the royal younger brother the *Senapati* returned after attacking the Khongchais (of the South). They captured ten people in battle and collected mithuns and buffaloes. The Sahep presented the *Senapati* four guns

and one sword. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday. 16 Thursday, Tachi, the mare, gave birth to a foal. 20 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 23 Wednesday, Yipungsi the Jubraj went to Kapokpat lake to have a picnic with *Utong chak* rice (cooked in a section of a bamboo). The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Thursday. 14 Wednesday, all those Bamons who were denied entry in Manipur were told to go to Aawa. They were ordered to halt at Thoupan. 17 Sunday, Laipupam Thakur the *Hanchapa* was appointed as steward (over the temple). There was also a nine gun salute. 19 Monday, there was an earthquake. 20 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 23 Friday, most of the elephants were taken to Kokchai. 24 Saturday, one Kosai (Gosai) from the lineage of Pina was given a gift of two thousand silver coins¹³ and then he left. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 20 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Monday. 5 Friday, the king's elder sister Sija was escorted to Chingakhm Cha. On that day Yipungsi the Senapati accompanied by Yipungsi the *Lakpa* of Khurai, Yirom Cha Major, Laisram Cha Major, Nongthonpam Cha the *Poila*, Soipam Cha the *Poila*, nine *Subidars*, nine *Jamandars*, and one thousand and fifty sepoy left to attack the Khoipupa Khaki Haos. 20 Friday, the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Wednesday. 5 Saturday, they began to enter Sekpao Hao village. Potsangpam Panji (the astrologer) was rewarded with one *Pari* paddy field with the standing crop¹⁴ for his service (to the king). On that day,¹⁵ Sekpao was devastated and six people were captured alive. The Senapati halted at Sekpao and also subdued Senpung, Chongpimang and Tayon, these four Hao villages and others. All the Khaki Haos were subdued and they became tribute-paying villages. Yipungsi Devendra Singh the Senapati allowed the Hao village of Nachoi to settle by the river but they were told that if they polluted the river they would be destroyed. They paid their tribute with brass bossed gongs, plates, goats, mithuns and clothes which could not be counted nor numbered, and these were presented to the king. 18 Friday, (the Senapati) along with all the chiefs of all the Hao villages arrived (with their tributes). 19 Saturday, all the Hao chiefs of all the Hao villages were received at court. They were all allowed to return to their respective villages immediately. 20 Sunday was Pisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 According to traditional beliefs trees out of which boats were made were regarded as living, feeling beings, and before they were cut down, appeasements are usually made to them. *Wuyaron* lyric sung in the *Meetei Lai Haraoba* festival laments in very moving poetic language the loss and painful parting felt by the mother or originator of the tree at the felling of tall and majestic trees. The warp of the timber of the boat has been interpreted as displeasure and thus requiring an appeasement rite.
- 2 *Prem Tarangkini lairik tapa*: literally to listen to *Prem Tarangkini* a written piece, obviously of Bengali origin. Usually read to an audience in a dramatic manner lasting a few days, equivalent to traditional *Wari Tapa* or *Wari Liba*, listening to or telling of legendary tales or ballads to an audience. Phrase used for the first time.
- 3 *Sareng* fish: *wallago attu*, fresh water species. Term used for the first time.
- 4 *Muhasap* for *Mahotsab*: Bengali for great feast. Term used for the first time.

- 5 Cart festival: The pulling of the throne of the king after the defeat of enemies and the pulling of thrones of the *Lais* at the *Meetei Lai Haraoba* were the traditional practice. Now this practice has been adopted for the Hindu deity as a result of further proselytising of Hinduism.
- 6 This sentence is obscure.
- 7 *Yinga*: The month of Yinga is repeated and the following month *Yingen* is missing.
- 8 *Julon* for *Jhulon*: Bengali for 'the act of swinging'. A specific Hindu festival where the deities are staged as playing on swings. Water is also sprinkled from behind the images on the stage, in the evenings, during the whole period of this festival which lasts a few days. The phrase and practice are mentioned for the first time.
- 9 Discrepancy in the date.
- 10 *Chongthokye*: Past tense of *chongthokpa*: meaning to jump out or to re-locate.
- 11 *Koubruna nongmei thai*: Literally *Koubru*, shot the gun. A symbolic description of thunder at Koubru. Koubru is one of the highest peaks in the northern location. Term used for the first time.
- 12 *Snakhwa*: Term used in addressing a prince. Now used in addressing any older male who has any connection with the royal family. Term used for the first time.
- 13 *Lupa* two thousand: not clear if it refers to Indian Rupees which were made of pure sterling silver and called *Lupa*, or silver pieces. Even if it was Indian Rupee currency it was a very large sum of money at that time. The term *Lupa* is used for currency for the first time.
- 14 *Phounata*: Literally with paddy in leaves in the field. Normally the farmer has the right of ownership over portions of the standing crop and fields with standing crops are not usually sold.
- 15 *Numin* for *Numit*: day. Scribal error.

Sakabda 1763 (1841 CE)

The year of Heisnam Purno, Sakabda 1763 (1841 CE). 21 Monday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Thursday. On that day Yipungsi Leisangkhompa was expelled to Langgathen. 2 Friday, Aangoupamba Rasamani was enthroned (as the chief of Aangom). 6 Tuesday, one Gosai arrived. 12 Sunday, a tiger was caught in Kongpa. 13 Monday, the news was heard that Yipungsi Tarpan Jit and Ram Singh, these two had come from Mayang. Yipungsi the Senapati set off for Maklang to battle. 19 Sunday, clothes (uniforms) were distributed to the sepoy. 22 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 21¹ Thursday, they captured one shield and two scouts. 23 Friday, the battle took place by the gorge of Thamnong and Senbangan, at these two places. One Naorem Cha died. In the night, after midnight Yipungsi Tarpan Jit and his younger brother, both of them entered the palace. Yipungsi the Jubraj marched to the area of Nongmeipop and they fought there. 24 Saturday, in the morning both the princes who were brothers were defeated. Twenty men died in the battle-field. Yipungsi Sachoupa escaped while he was on the march. As for all the others (who were captured), Yipungsi the Jubraj, the beneficent, set all of them free and requesting all those who were their kith and kin to adopt them, gave them all to their care. Yipungsi Ramandi and Chaopaton, these two confessed that they

did not come with the party of attackers. But those who were in the invading party assured (the Jubraj) that both were with them. They were sent back on the ground that they had changed their intention. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Saturday and it was the second day of the lunar month. 7 Thursday, as it was reported that Yipungsi Chipa with a friend had led a march from the direction of the north, the people went to repel them. They collected twelve turbans,² two swords and three round shields. 16 Saturday, Nongthonpa the *Poila* captured one person and he was brought before the king. But the rest escaped. The captured person was punished by public shaming, *khunkoinapa*. 26 Saturday, the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. A tiger was caught at Poirou Khongchin and it was presented (to the king). The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Sunday. 13 Thursday, as the servant of Longjampa,³ the *Hanchapa* of security guards, was said to have killed three Haos in Thingnungkei, the *Hanchapa* was deported to *Loi* to Suknu.⁴ 14 Friday, Yipungsi the Jubraj rowed in the chief barge (for a rain ceremony), in the Leisang Hiten anchoring place, in order that it might rain. 22 Sunday, Bamon caught a hog deer. 25 Wednesday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Monday. 12 Friday, a tiger was caught at Kakching and it was presented (to the king). 28 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Tuesday. 6 Sunday, blood was shed at the temple of Shri Brindaban Chandra. 8 Tuesday, a male elephant calf was born. 28 Monday, a tiger was caught at Changangkei and it was presented (to the king). New moon Wednesday,⁵ the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Thursday. 14 Wednesday, a tiger was caught in Sangngaiprou. The month of Langpan was intercalary. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Friday. (That day) the *Sangkranti* of Mera also began. 7 Thursday, Yipungsi the Senapati, Aangoupampa these two, along with all those holding high office in the land, erected the earthen plinth for a temple for *Shri Brindabanchandra*. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began on Sunday. (The image of) *Shri Ramchandra Pravu* which was brought from Narasingtinlan, arrived. On that day, they began to form the *Nam Pala* (male voice choir).⁶ They were made to put on big hats made of silk and shawls and they sang songs of the *Maha Sangkirtan* before (the image of) Shri Ramji Pravu. That day the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangkei also began. 20 Friday, they built a temple and a *mantop* in Khwairampan and placed (the image of) Shri Ramji Pravu there. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Monday. That day the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 3 Wednesday, there was an earthquake. 8 Tuesday, monk Gopanla Das was sent back to Narasingtinlan to attend to *Norasingh Thakur* (image). New moon Tuesday, the General Sahep and another person, these two arrived. 16 Wednesday, Kolek Hao came and presented (to the king) one servant, one brass bossed gong, one deep *khulup* bowl⁷ and a disk of salt which was as big as a big winnowing fan. 20 Saturday, Nongmaithem Cha Muhon Sing the *Hanchapa* of Potsangpa Institute and a Pundit, these two along with three persons from the *Maipa* Institute,⁸ left by the main racing barge to collect water (for ritual purposes). 24 Wednesday, they returned after collecting the water. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Wednesday. That day the *Sangkranti* of Wakching

also began. Full moon Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 18 Saturday, one Gosai arrived. New moon Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Friday. 3 Sunday, Yipungsi the Senapati left for the Haos in the North to ask them to perform a task. 4 Monday, the people from Hungkun Thokchom and those from south Sekmai had a *Khupa Yisei*⁹ musical contest and Sekmai was the winner. They were rewarded with fifty flat salt cakes and ten *lakhs* of *sen*. 5 Tuesday, the people of Thangka and Moirang had a (musical) contest. Both were rewarded with one hundred flat salt cakes each. 7 Thursday, one *Mahasoi* arrived. 10 Sunday, Chandra Sithanda Panchi (astrologer) the *Lakpa* of the Institute of Astrologers was rewarded with a gold bracelet and *Namthang khulak*.¹⁰ 11 Monday, Yibungsi the Juparaj caught three tigers in Ngachingkhong. 16 Saturday, a tiger was caught in Keirao and it was presented (to the king). 24 Saturday, the chief elephant which had become wild was captured in Takna. 26 Monday, Yenkhoipa and Haopam, these two were deported to *Loi*. 27 Tuesday, the Haos from the North were received at court. 28 Thursday, the people of Huntung presented 205 *phoupots* of paddy (to the king). New moon Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Sunday. 12 Wednesday, two Gosais arrived. 14 Friday, Yibungsi the Senapati returned after attacking the Haos in the North. Three thousand people, including the chief of the village of Hongtung, were captured. On that day, all those from the Naorem extended family, and who were followers of Yibungsi the *Lakpa* of Khurai, were deported to *Loi*. 17 Monday, a tiger was caught in the Sansenpam village and it was presented (to the king). 19 Wednesday, the people of Keirao caught a tiger and was presented (to the king). 21 Friday, two elephants were caught by the people of Samarou and they were presented (to the king). 22 Saturday, the Maharaj gave Rupees two thousand, and his royal maternal uncle the Jubraj another Rupees two thousand, and one white silk cloth which was embroidered with patterns in raised filigree work in gold,¹¹ to Shri Mahasoi Thakur as a farewell gift. After receiving these gifts, he left. 23 Sunday, another Gosai arrived. Monday the first day of the lunar month of Sachiphu was Bisu *Sangkranti*.

- 1 Scribal error, 21 and 22 have been transposed.
- 2 *Kokyot*: Male headdress like *turbans*, worn in different styles according to ranks and occasions. Term used for the first time.
- 3 *Longjampa pa*: *pa* scribal error.
- 4 Formally it was the custom to punish the father for his son's crime. Similarly, the servant was also regarded as the ward of his employer.
- 5 *Yisakeisa*: scribal error for *Yimsakeisa*, Wednesday.
- 6 *Nam Pala*: Bengali. *Nam* name, *Pala*: narrative opera. Male voice choir which sang songs of Hindu gods describing their deeds.
- 7 *Khulup tengkot* conflation of *khu* knee, *lup* from *luppa*, verb to immerse, *tengkot*, bowl. A deep tub where one could be immersed up to the knee.
- 8 *Mapa Sang*: scribal error for *Maipa Sang*. Institute of *Maipas*.
- 9 *Khupa Yisei*: modern *Khupak Yisei* where folk songs were sung with the clapping of hands. Term used for the first time.

- 10 *Namthang Khulak*: cloth with complicated delicate embroidery either in silk or fine cotton given as a reward. *Namthang*: conflation of *nam*: back, *thang*: from verb *thangba* to carry, meaning a cloth which is thrown over the back. *Khulak*: a shortened form of *Khut lak*: between fingers. Delicate hand embroidery done either in the weaving or after the weaving or both. Later the pattern was also used on the border of men's head dress and ladies' fine *Innapphi* (stole).
- 11 *Sna muhor aamana kongkon thinpa*: *sna* gold, *muhor* Bengali for seal, or pattern; *aamana*: one, a pattern, *Kongkon thinpa*: raised filigree work; cloth with raised gold (or golden) filigree work.

Sakabda 1764 (1842 CE)

The year of Mutwa Muhon Sing, Sakabda 1764 (1842 CE). 2 Tuesday was the *Cheiraopa*, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu. 18 Monday, there was a very heavy fall of hail stones. As the gale was very strong the flag of Shri Brindaban Chantra, which was eighteen *lams* tall, broke. 18 Wednesday, two Gosais left. 25 Thursday, the king of Somsok left. 29 Monday, four Gosais arrived. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Wednesday. 2 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 24 Thursday, Yipungsi Purna Sing arrived from the land of Aawa. The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Thursday. 5 Monday the *Sangkranti* of Yinga began. The month of **Yinga** (May/June) began on Saturday. They began to dig the Thangkapat moat (round the palace). 6 Wednesday, the temple and the *mantop* of Guru Nanda Thakhur was set alight. 7 Thursday, the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Sunday. 10 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Thawan began. The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Monday. On that day, as a Bamon who was still excommunicated gave the last Hindu religious rite of renouncing the world¹ to Langmaithem Cha the *Nongthonpa*, the Bamon was deported to *Loi* to Kakching. Rajkhwa, the elder brother of the deceased, was deported to *Loi* to Leisangkhong. 11 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month of **Langpan** (August/November) began on Wednesday. 6 Sunday, two tigers were caught at Kokchai. 11 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. 25 Saturday, there was an earthquake. On that day, Khunchaopa Khero, the *Lakpa* of the Institute Building of Eunuchs and Pamon Rakhop, these three were put in chains. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Thursday.² 12 Monday the *Sangkranti* of HiYangkei began. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Saturday. 12 Wednesday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. Full moon Saturday, a *jagya* was performed.³ 26 Sunday, the Jubraj went down to Ngachingkhong gorge and caught five tigers. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Sunday.⁴ It was reported that *Taoroinai*⁵ appeared in Samourou (paddy field) and it was as big as the main racing barge. 6 Saturday, the Jubraj caught a tiger at Kontha. 9 Tuesday, a man of Sakonsem family died in Samourou when he was struck by lightning. 11 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. 12 Friday, Thokchom Cha Bonamali, Thiyam Cha Aapungton the *Subidar* and others went and began to plough the fields in Khoupum. 13 Saturday, Yipungsi⁶ Damu the *Hanjapa* and others left to attack the Ngamees. 18 Thursday, one Gosai left (the

country). The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Tuesday. 9 Thursday, Thoukaunau the *Lakpa* of Laipham (*Pana*) was punished.⁷ 10 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Phairen began. 12 Sunday, Bishton Sahep⁸ left for the land of Aawa. 18 Friday, Khumbong Chantra Sithanta died. 20 Sunday, a meteorite fell.⁹ On that day the (country) began to adopt Lairen Lakpam Cha astrologer's almanac. Yipungsi Damu the *Hanchapa* also returned after attacking the Ngamees. Cattle and mithuns were collected. The month of **Phairen** (January/February) began on Thursday. On that day, a tiger was caught at Andro and it was presented (to the king). 5 Monday, a white cloud in a long linear shape was seen in the sky.¹⁰ 11 Sunday the *Sangkranti* of Lamta began. 24 Friday, two tigers were caught at Singut Leikai and they were presented (to the king). The month of **Lamta** (February/March) began on Saturday. 2 Sunday, the Jubraj caught a tiger at Kokchai. On that day, the white cloud which appeared in the sky disappeared. Five Phiringkis also arrived. 4 Tuesday, the Phiringki Sahep presented a bear to the king. 7 Friday, four tigers were caught at Keinou and they were presented (to the king). 13 Wednesday was the Cheiraopa, the new year's day in the month of Sachiphu.

- 1 *Vek piba*: *vek* Bengali, meaning disguise, to put on the garb of a Vaishnavite ascetic, *piba* to give. A Hindu religious rite which in Manipur is ministered mostly as the last rite to a person who had intimated that he or she wished to renounce the life of this world in order to be liberated from the endless cycle of birth, death and rebirth; or it may be done also according to the wish of the surviving family members of the deceased. This is very commonly practised by the Meetei Hindus as it also lessens the elaborate and very demanding material requirements for the *sraddha* rite laid down by the Hindu Brahmins. Term used for the first time.
- 2 The month of Mera is missing.
- 3 *Jagya*: a Hindu ritual, not indicated who and why it was performed.
- 4 Poinu: not indicated if this was an intercalary month.
- 5 *Taoroinai*: snake. Believed to be the visual symbol of the presence of Pakhangpa the ancestral divinity of the Meetei kings.
- 6 *Yipupasi*: scribal error for Yipungsi.
- 7 *Hangchanye*: conflation of two words; *hang chanye*: *hang* obscure, perhaps machine or enclosure, *chanye* past tense of *chanba* to put in. He was punished.
- 8 Biston Sahep: probably Major General Sir James Johnstone.
- 9 *Sangaisen pai*: literally meteorite flew. Often conceived as an omen. Term used for the first time.
- 10 In the Meetei traditional culture shapes, patterns and colours of clouds indicated specific meanings in relation to the welfare of the land, the country, the king and international relations.

Sakabda 1765 (1843 CE)

The year of Aahongsangpa Prem Sing, Sakabda 1765 (1843 CE). 18 Monday, Tongbram Cha the *Lakpa* of Naharup (*Pana*) was rewarded with a gold bracelet (by the king) for felling trees for making five racing barges, including one which was made out of *Wuningthou* (teak). 24 Sunday, two Gosais arrived. 25 Monday,

Yirom Cha Major and Maisnam Cha Major, these two and others left for battle in the southern region. The month of **Sachiphu** (March/April) began on Sunday. 5 Thursday, a flag of seventeen *lams* in length was blown away. 14 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Kalen began. 16 Sunday, three Gosais went back and three other Gosais arrived. 17 Monday, those who went to attack the Khaki Haos at Mente returned. They captured two chiefs of two Hao villages. They were received at court and they also brought with them plates, brass bossed gongs and goats as their tribute payments and presented them (to the king). 21 Friday, Aangom Kumut brought the swords which were collected from some villages of (the land of) Mayang and presented them to the king; including a sword which belonged to the king of *Chayantiya*.¹ 26 Friday, they began to build the temple of Shri Gopinda (Govinda). The month of **Kalen** (April/May) began on Tuesday. 9 Tuesday, a tiger was caught in Khongman. 10 Wednesday, Yumnam Cha Lila Sing the *Subidar* came and reported that one Wuningthou tree which was twenty-five *lams* tall and five *lams* in circumference had been found. 22 Thursday, Phoukei Sangpam Cha the *Tewan* (*Dewan*), Soipam Cha the *Poila*, and Huitrom Cha the *Katwan*, these three and others left for the North to fell the tree to make a large barge. 12 Friday, they began to make the people attend the market in Maklang. Full moon Monday, the Haos of the southern region were received at court. 16. Tuesday was the *Sangkranti* of Yinga. 17 Wednesday, a tiger was caught at Chingkhram Lamphei. 26 Friday, news reached that the tree for the large barge has been felled. 28 Sunday, Yipungsi Debendra and others, the whole country left to pull the large barge. On that day Sri Jubraj asked Lairenlakpam Cha the Pundit to give signs as to when this large barge would arrive (at the palace). The Pundit gave his report that the large barge would enter the palace on Thursday full moon, the first day of the lunar month of Yingen. The month of **Yinga** (May/June)² began on Wednesday. 4 Saturday, a child from the Thaotem family was bitten by a cow³. 9 Thursday, Shri Gobindaji's temple was inaugurated. One *Kharisa* was caught in the *Rasamanton* (garden). Full moon Tuesday, the astrologers from the foreign country⁴ said that there would be an eclipse. The pundits of Manipur said that there would not be and there was no eclipse. 19 Saturday the *Sangkranti* of Yingen began. 27 Monday, a chief titled Kalaraja was appointed. Yipungsi Purno Sing also died. The month of **Yingen** (June/July) began on Friday. Full moon Thursday (the tree trunk for) the main racing barge arrived. What was predicted by Lairenlakpa the astrologer turned out to be correct. Yipungsi the Jubraj received it. 16 Friday, they began to carve out the barge. 20 Tuesday, the area from Waikok to Soiya Khoiru Thapa was made to become part of the Laipham *Pana*.⁵ That day the *Sangkranti* of Thawan also began. 26 Monday, when (the people of) the village of Khorikhun found a Hao from the northern region who was a cattle rustler, they cut off his head and it was brought (to the king). The month of **Thawan** (July/August) began on Saturday. 21 Friday the *Sangkranti* of Langpan began. The month **Langpan** (August/November) began on Sunday. The making of the chief barge was completed. Having decorated the barge with gold and silver, it was named Chatyana Das and then the Jubraj took to the stern⁶ and (the barge) was entered in a race. 19 Thursday, a tiger was caught at the Kyang homestead.⁷ The Jubraj also

heard that a monkey had entered in the (shrine) of *Hiyangthang Lairema*. 23 Monday, the *Sangkranti* of Mera began. The month of **Mera** (September/October) began Tuesday. 22 Tuesday the *Sangkranti* of Hiyangei began. The month of **Hiyangkei** (October/November) began on Wednesday. 11 Saturday, the gun(s) and the cannon (s) were re-located. Full moon Wednesday, there was a lunar eclipse. 16 Thursday, two tigers were caught at Khoyathong. 23 Thursday the *Sangkranti* of Poinu began. 27 Monday, when it was reported that a white elephant was spotted in the eastern part of the country, the royal younger brother the Senapati and others left to catch it. They returned without catching it. New moon Thursday, there was a solar eclipse. The month of **Poinu** (November/December) began on Friday. 5 Tuesday, the Jubraj caught two tigers at Chingnga. 22 Friday, Shri Radha Madhop arrived from Mayang. That day the *Sangkranti* of Wakching began. The month of **Wakching** (December/January) began on Saturday. 6 Thursday, two little stars were so close and it appeared that one covered the other.⁸ 8 Saturday, within the fifth Manipuri *pung* (hour) after the dusk *Yuthak*, while the Jubraj was worshipping (Shri Brindabon Chantra) in a prostrate position, at the end of the sacred reading, Yipungsi Nabin came and struck with the sword the right arm of the Jubraj, in front of Shri Brindabon Chantra. Those who accompanied Yipungsi Nabin were fifty-three people. Nabin⁹ was confined at the North gate. Ningthem (Chandra Kriti the boy king) left for the land of Mayang with his royal mother.¹⁰ Ningthem (Chandra Krititi the boy king) reigned for ten years. Those who took part in the conspiracy were Haopam the *Mantri* (minister), Keisa the *Nongthonpa* (minister), Khumbong Major, Konchengpa the *Keirungpa*, Maisna the *Hajari*, Khentampa the *Huirongpa*, the *Tuhara* (second in the male choir), and Yumnapa Kisara. All those who were involved in the conspiracy were deported to each of the *Loi* area, with all their wives and children. 10 Tuesday, a white canopy was spread at Koubru (for religious purposes).¹¹

- 1 *Chayantiya*: probably an alternative spelling for *Jayantia*, old Jayantia Hills in present day Meghalaya.
- 2 *Chinga*: scribal error for *Yinga*.
- 3 *Sanna*: *San* term used for both a cow or a bull, unless the gender is indicated, *na* post position: by.
- 4 Astrologers from the foreign country: scribal dittography.
- 5 Alternative reading: Soiya Khoinu Thapa (a person) from Waikok was made to join the Laipham *Pana*.
- 6 *Lunao taba*: *lunao*: stern of a boat where the cox of the boat crew sits. *Lunao taba*: to take the position at the stern before the race. Term used for the first time.
- 7 *Kyang Yingkhon*: Kyang homestead could refer to Kyang embassy like that of *Pong Yingkhon* or Pong embassy.
- 8 *Chiknaba*: literally bit each other.
- 9 Nabin was the son of Kunjaraj of Mantri Mayum and from the line of Garibniwaz's son Aananta Shai.
- 10 The English translation of a letter from Nara Singh to Capt. Gordon, the Political Agent, dated January 28 1844, in Meeteiron, in Bengali script reads: 'Shrijut Regent Sahep sends his greetings to Shrijut Gordon Sahep the Political Agent. On Saturday of this lunar month of *Phairen*, at about dusk while I was listening to the reading of

sacred texts in the *mandap*, some evil disposed people, including prince Nabin, came with arms and wounded me slightly. Only prince Nabin and two men have been captured but the rest of the party consisting a large number of people are still at large. But Shri Yiroipa the Major, Shri Shoipya the *Pohila*, and others have been sent to search for them. Also a search team has been employed to find Shrijut the Maharaj and his royal mother who have gone into hiding because of this incident. Further I would like to convey to you Shrijut Sahep that you also may be on guard. Here I end. 1765 (Sakabda) Mahe, *Magh* 16 month.' (*Magh*: Bengali month from middle of January to middle of February).

- 11 *Koubruda Phingou phouye*: literally white cloth was spread at Koubru: could be a canopy indicating Haraoba ceremony, which also includes an appeasement rite for the safety of the country, the people and the king.

GLOSSARY OF MANIPURI AND OTHER NON-ENGLISH WORDS

Aacharja guru Hindu spiritual guide.

Aadhar Bengali for support.

Aakhara Bengali term for club house, or monastery. Also a big building used for a religious assembly.

Aakoksa this term has a derived meaning of being ritually impure, originally meaning those possessed by an evil spirit. Refers to those Indian immigrants of lower caste who had settled in Manipur.

Aayokpa the adopted ones, those adopted either by the king, or by any individual. Aayokpa Institute was responsible for those who were adopted by the king.

Angka Jotish Chandrika arithmetical calculation of Jotish Chandrika.

Aangommayum Aangom extended family who belonged to the Aangom *yek*.

Arangsang the Institute building which dealt with management of the royal household.

Arthadai Sanskrit, a day when gifts were made for merit. Gifts were given in Manipur so that they might bless the givers.

Athibasi for *adibasi* Bengali meaning original, old. Used here either to indicate non-Hindu indigenous religious rites or the very first section of any rite.

Avisek for *Avishek*, Sanskrit, meaning the crowning of a king.

Bamon or Pamon Indian Hindu immigrants who claimed to be Brahmins.

Bara Senapati Bara Bengali for big. Here the term refers to the prince who is in charge of the army.

Bebashtakar Bengali for steward over the temple or elsewhere.

Beiragra for *Beiragi* Bengali for mendicants.

Bikramachit for *Vikramaditya*, one of the titles of Chandra Gupta II (c. 376–415), whom tradition credited as the founder of Vikrama era, the most important of India's many systems of dating which is still current in North India.

Bisu (Pisu) Sangkranti for Bengali *Bhishub sangkranti*, the last day of the Bengali month of *Chaitra* which has either thirty or thirty-one days and always falls at the harvest time in Bengal. For the Hindu Meeteis in Manipur, where the lunar calendar is used, this day always falls in the month of *Sachiphu*. I have retained the spelling of *Bisu Sangkranti* as found in the *P. Ms.* Text.

Bhaswati Bhaswati almanac.

Bhumikampa Bengali for earthquake, loan word used in place of *yuharaba*.

Bramahon Sabha association of Brahmins. Later this group came to be known as Brahma Sabha. It consisted of the immigrant Brahmins and was presided over by the king.

Chak chenpa one who moves around with his portion of food. Travellers or nationalist patriotic fighters with no fixed abode.

Chang a basket measurement. One *chang* is half a *sangbai* basket and is equivalent to 14.93 kg approximately. *Sangbai* and *chang* measurements are used for measuring paddy, rice, and grain, and *phoupot* for unhusked paddy. 1 *phoupot* = 59.72 kg approximate 2 *sangbai* baskets. 1 *sangbai* = 29.86 kg approximate. The size of baskets differs from place to place.

Chantrapta alternative spelling of *Chandrabda*, the Kangleipak Era, which was introduced in the reign of Chingthangkhopma. See Introduction to Vol. 1. pp. 5–6.

Chatcha probably term used for officers in the Patcha Institute.

Chayantiya probably an alternative spelling of *Jayantia*, old *Jayantia Hills* in present day Meghalaya.

Chengkok literally husked rice (carried) on the head (mostly by women). It is a measure of a specific basket weighing approximately 18.660 kg or 20 *Indian seers* ($20 \times 0.933 \text{ kg} = 18.660 \text{ kg}$).

Chengpak parboiled, pressed rice.

Chiknaba literally bit each other. Phrase used to describe a star going behind another star.

Chkumye for *chak wumye* past tense of *Chakwumpa*. Conflation of *chak* cooked rice, *wumpa* to have it in the mouth. The rite of giving a baby its first solid food.

Chintamani Bengali for frontal bone. Manipuri term *lu* is replaced with the Bengali term.

Chirus an ethnic group.

Chongthokye past tense of *chongthokpa*, meaning to jump out or to relocate.

Chotish Chantrika or *Jyotish Chandrika* an almanac.

Chuparaj for *Jubraj*, alternative spelling.

Chura karan Bengali, the shaving off of the birth hair of the baby. Amongst the Hindu Meeteis, this practice was combined with the traditional ear piercing rite, for both the male and female child. Only a *napet*, a Mayang barber, can shave off the hair for the *chura karan*.

Dan Tharma for Bengali *dan dharma*. Gifts made as a meritorious act by caste Hindus.

Dhup Bengali for incense.

Dip Bengali for fire offering.

Gaitri for *Gayatri* Vedic incantation.

Gantha puspa Bengali for scented flowers.

Graha for Bengali term *grahan* eclipse, replacing Manipuri phrase *Sana phangpa*, literally to be taken by a beast.

Ghari Bengali for western clock or watch.

Haipa to say, to utter; used for *hainapa* to negotiate, to confer.

Hanchapa Tampaknai one who holds the post of *Hanchapa* over the servants of the crown prince.

Hao the term *Hao* was first used as reference to a commoner as opposed to royalty. As Hinduisation advanced in Manipur it was applied to all the non-Hindus with derogative and negative implications.

Hajari for *Hazari* Hindusthani, commander of one thousand horses or men.

Hapye past tense of *happa*, to add, to appoint.

Hangchanye or *hanchanye* present indicative of infinitive *hangchanpa* or *hanchanba* to re-occupy, to return. The term *Hangchanye* could also be read as consisting of two words, *hang chanye*, meaning, he was put in a *hang* (a machine or an enclosure) as a punishment.

Haraopa/Haraoba the pleasing ceremony in honour of the ancestors.

Hatpa sakye reckoned as being slain.

Heikhakok an evergreen fruit tree whose fruits are of the size of a tennis ball with a very hard skin which turns yellow when ripe. The fruit has a sweet taste and a yellowish pulp.

Heipong literally fruit of Pong. Wild fig tree which bears edible round figs in clusters, probably was introduced from Pong.

Hinao hanpa the head or chief of the boat coxes.

Hiyangthang Lairemmata the guardian *Lai* of Hiyangthang. After Hinduisation it became the cave of Kali/Durga, the Hindu Goddess for a time. Now it is shared between the Traditionalists and the Hindus.

Hi yai objects regarded as sacred and having supernatural power. The drinking of the water into which such objects, along with the weapons of war, had been immersed was to symbolise that the pact between the parties concerned was sealed.

Hitak sungpa to make medicine. Traditional herbal medicine and physicians were well established and still have a great role in dealing with various ailments.

Huitem/tem the short form is often used. A heavy smooth wooden tool of approximately forty to forty-five inches in length and five to six inches in width with a thick ridge at one side and a thin edge at the other, used in loin loom weaving to beat the thread from the shuttle weft wise into the warp of the weave.

Hukpiramy past tense of *hukpa*, to bore a hole; suffix *piramy* implies that this was done as an act of kindness.

Hukye past tense of *hukpa* to bore through or to dig as in the case of a salt well.

Hunkhaiye past tense of verb *hunkhaiba* to scatter or throw.

Holi an Indian Hindu festival. This festival coincides with the spring festival of the Meeteis which is celebrated with communal dancing and gifts of new clothes, especially to the young children, and followed by a communal feast. After Hinduisation, Holi festival was appended to the Meetei Spring festival. At the *Holi* festival participants both male and female adults imitate the frolics of Krishna the cowherd with the milkmaids, by pouring coloured water on each

- other. At present both the traditional Meetei Spring festival *Yaosang* and the Hindu *Holi* are observed simultaneously.
- Hung* a nasal sound used before an incantation.
- Huntheiye* past tense of *hunthaba*, to take something from one place to another, to throw down or to confiscate.
- Jibanas* for *jibanya* Sanskrit, a Hindu religious rite by which soul or spirit is believed to be endowed into a carving, a cast, or any inanimate object by those officiating the rite.
- Jaganath* image associated with the Hindu cart festival.
- Jagya* a Hindu ritual rite.
- Jubraj* Manipuri for Jubaraj, crown prince, heir apparent.
- Julon* for *Jhulon* Bengali for 'the act of swinging'. A specific Hindu festival where the Hindu deities, Krishna and Radha, are staged as swinging together. In Manipur the swinging is enhanced with the display of water sprinkling from behind the images during the whole period of this festival, which lasts a few days and usually held in the evenings.
- Kabakthang* broad, short sword.
- Kachai Hao khun* probably the Kacha Naga villages.
- Kalaraj* Bengali, literally black king. The chief of the immigrant *Kalisan* also known as *Bishnupriya*, people of Indian origin and darker skin colour and who are settled in the Ningthoukhong area.
- Kamna* how can it be?
- Kamran* probably a cannon.
- Kapo Phourunghanpa* officer in charge of paddy fields for growing, collecting and distributing paddy crops in Kapo. Kapo refers to Kabaw valley.
- Kang chingpa* literally to pull a cart, now used for the Hindu cart festival for *Jaganath*. The pulling of the throne of the Meetei kings to celebrate victory over enemies in battle and the pulling of the thrones of the *Lais* at the *Moirang Lai Haraoba* were traditional practice. This practice was adopted for the Hindu deity as a result of the influence of Hinduism.
- Kapo Khari* place name. Since the period of Khakempa, Khari of Kapo was within the boundary of Manipur. After the conquest of this area the place name *Kapo Khari* was still retained.
- Kapo Lampu Lampu* in Kapo. He was appointed by the king to see that law and order were upheld.
- Kapui loi saang loi saang* does not refer to Loisang (Institute), but more likely it refers to subject Kapuis who were tribute paying and who had settled on a long mountain range.
- Kathi* a basket measurement which gives approximately two Indian *seers* in weight for grains and cereal, but it is also used for dry herbal spices or small fish in certain parts of Manipur, especially the areas neighbouring Cachar or Mayang. The size of basket differs from area to area.
- Kei* king's servants who work in the state granaries.
- Keichenglang* a small tiger of a rare species.

Kei loi literally those who were tribute-paying subjects and who worked in the kei areas.

Keipung probably a commemorative erected to celebrate a successful tiger hunt.

Keiyang thekpa literally to break the spine of a tiger, a daring sport performed only by a few men of valour before an audience. It was a display of the strength and skill of the performer. The candidate in his Meetei ceremonial attire, and armed with just a spear, overpowers the tiger and breaks its spine with bare hands, before an audience. Such bravery carried a reward from the king.

Keiroi either the granary hands or short for *Keroi Leika*, neighbours, those living in the same area.

Keithen Lakpa the official in charge of a market.

Keita sumye punishment with hard labour or by restricting a person at the Kei areas where granaries were built.

Kengngoi a small edible wild plant which has green leaves and a slight lemon taste, which grows in a shaded location.

Konung Snaleipak the palace of Sna Leipak. Sna Leibak was the name of the country before the term Manipur was used.

Koubruta phingou phouye literally white cloth was spread at Koubru; could refer to a white canopy spread at the Lai Haraoba ceremony, which also includes an appeasement rite for the safety of the country, the people and the king; alternatively, simply a white cloud over the Koubru mountain from which omens were read.

Kirtan Bengali, communal singing of religious songs of the Krishna cult.

Kiyang Lai probably an image or a representation of a divinity of the people of Kiyang or Kyang.

Kokyet male headdress like a turban, worn in different styles according to rank and occasion. The colour is mainly white and it is of fine pure cotton or coloured silk with embroidery on the borders.

Kothi Bengali *Koshthi*, horoscope. The practice of having a horoscope written at the birth of a child continues still in Manipur. When a Hindu deity is installed, a horoscope of the deity is also written.

Koubruna nongmei thai literally Koubru, shot a gun. A symbolic description of thunder at Koubru. Koubru is one of the highest peaks in the northern region in Manipur, and is believed to be the place where the Meeteis first settled.

Kuchu name of a place in the hills where a temporary royal residence was built to receive the Khongchais in Sak. 1708, where an agreement was made between the Meetei king and the Khongchais. The king's court in the Kangla Complex was also named Kuchu, most probably after this historic occasion.

Kwaktanpa a religious rite in which, after crows are coaxed to feed in a flock, they are chased away, and omens are read for the forthcoming year from their flight formation.

Kyang Yingkhon Kyang homestead, could refer to Kyang embassy like that of *Pong Yingkhon* (Pong embassy).

Khatpa heiet literally does not know how to flirt. Not showing initiative.

Khangpa either to know or to be startled.

Khaikhiye past tense of *khaipa/khaiba*, to divide, to share out. Traditionally a nuclear family could branch off from the original ancestral family. The separated families become independent of each other in terms of headship (*pipaship*).

Khahi (for *Khasi*) Khasiya in present day Meghalaya.

Khaki Charoi *Khaki* Chinese. *Khaki Charoi*, either people of Charoi group of Chinese origin or Chinese spies, from *chaba* or *chapa*, to wander about looking for information.

Khaki Haos probably tribals of Chinese origin, or Haos from the southern region.

Kharisa hog-deer.

Khongphen either a place name or term meaning hand to hand combat in battle.

Khori Khun Khori, which is regarded as a Loi village. Khori could be a corrupt form of Khari, where some people from Khari settled. This place is also well known for sericulture which originated in the east. It also could refer to a village where copper was smelted, *Khori* for *kori* copper.

Khulai or *khutlai* weapon or ceremonial sword.

Khulup tengkot a deep tub.

Khuning distance from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow of an adult; one of the traditional measurements.

Khupa yisei modern *Khupak Yisei* where folk songs are sung with the clapping of hands to keep the beat.

Khut kongpipa conflation of *khut* descendants, *kongpipa* from *kongpa* to be freed. Exemption of a person and all his descendants from the compulsory duty to the state.

Khutong obscure. Probably hand-guns.

Khwairakpa the *Lakpa* of Khwai, an official; or the designation of a male (*pa*) of Khwairakpam family.

La manle haituna literally saying that the parchment leaf was old. Hand-made bark parchments were used for writing in ancient Manipur. See Vol. 1, p. 7.

Lai Gobindaji refers to a new Hindu image which had been recently deified. Both terms, *lai* for divinity and *ji* Sanskrit, are used in the process of indigenisation of the new image.

Laimanai literally the servant of a *lai* (divinity). His task consists in attending to the requirements of the *lai* and the *lai's* shrine.

Laina mei thaiye literally the *lai* set fire. In Manipuri culture when a human explanation cannot be found for any event the *lai* or the supernatural is taken as the originator of the event. Here it indicates an omen.

Laipakhra probably was the patron *lai* or divinity of widowers.

Laipakhra Sangku Hanchapa or short form, *Sangku Hanchapa*. *Sangku* was the name given to the group of children born of Hindu ascetics. The *Hanchapa* was in charge of *Laipakhra Sangku* group and he held a position in the Cheirap Court along with all the other *lai* attendants.

Lairenlakpa a post within the Lairen Institute. This term later also came to be used as a family name for the descendants of the *Lakpa*.

Lairen Sanglen the main Institute of *Lairen*, which deals with the worship of *Lairen*,

- python, the manifestation of *Pakhangpa*, the ancestral deity of the Ningthouja clan to which the Meetei kings belonged.
- Laisasung woituna* literally 'as the animal (tiger) also belonged to a *lai*,' meaning the tiger had supernatural strength.
- Lairik* literally a book. But also used for a written message.
- Lalongba* probably a short form of *lan langba*. A reconnoitre for the safety of the king.
- Lamtam* one's native land.
- Lam wonpa* to measure the boundary of an area.
- Lamhaipa* either to clear an area or to discuss matters concerning the area.
- Lanlam* probably an army formed from one's private followers.
- Lanwunpot* literally wealth given as a gift at marriage. Previously bride price was given for Meetei princesses married outside Manipur by the groom. Now it refers to the gift given to the girl.
- Lasing Kairen* big baskets of raw cotton not yet cleaned or spun.
- Leechei* a cane stick. Could also refer to the official stick which the eunuch in charge of guarding the palace uses to scrape on the ground as he walks round the palace in the night, to warn any possible intruder of his presence.
- Leihao* a flowering tree of the magnolia family which could grow quite tall and has small flowers. The flower has very strong scent and is either deep marigold or pale yellow in colour.
- Leikai* a lane with dwelling houses in a residential area.
- Leikai lanmi* voluntary militia from a Leikai. Every leikai or lane had a voluntary militia.
- Leipak asipu* this country.
- Leipakchapamee leipak chapa* literally to eat the land; to exploit the land, one who plunders or spies.
- Leipak ngakye* past tense of *leipak ngakpa* to protect or guard a nation, a country.
- Leipak Ngakpa* Protector of a country.
- Leipak kaiye* past tense of *leipak kaiba*, devastation of a country due to military conquest.
- Leipak sipu manghansipano?* A rhetorical question meaning 'What have we done and are still doing to bring ruin to the land?'
- Leikhomsang* literally a hut made of clay. Function obscure.
- Leinungtaki numit* literally while the sun was still inside the earth, meaning before sunrise.
- Lila woi* literally an act was staged. Euphemism for death.
- Longjampa* a male of Longjam family.
- Lonlei* headdress in the shape of prawn's head worn by the king, mostly in state occasions.
- Lourung Puren* chief official over all those in charge of paddy fields and its products. Chief Agriculture Officer.
- Lunao* stern of a boat where the cox sits.
- Lunao taba* to take the position at the stern before the race. Phrase *lu-nao taba* is also used to mean to have progeny.

Lu long name of a fishing trap made of bamboo in the shape of an egg, but with a wide mouth, short form *lu* or *long* is often used. The person using this trap wades into the water and scoops the water from as deep as possible. Used by both males and females.

Lupa used for British India Rupee currency coins which were made of pure sterling silver, or a silver piece.

Macha sibling of either gender.

Mahabali the new name given to the *Mongpahanpa* grove, a sacred area dedicated to the *lais* after the building of a temple for *Hanuman* a Hindu deity, which was carved in the form of a monkey and referred to as *Thakur*.

Mahasoi Bengali for male, gentleman.

Maharani Mapi the wet-nurse and the nurse for the Maharani's baby.

Maklang this is the entry point from Cachar (Assam) to the Valley of Manipur by the Cachar road, an ancient tract but motorable since the World War II.

Manglaknaba Sudden Adult Death Syndrome while asleep.

Manglaknatuna literally because of a struggle while asleep; meaning death.

Manipur des Kingdom of Manipur. *Des* Bengali for kingdom.

Makhut kakyé *Makhut*, hand, *kakyé* past tense of *kakpa* to cut off. No plural form, could have been one hand or both hands, a form of punishment.

Manimukut Bengali, a tiara with jewels.

Manipureswar Lord of Manipur, Bengali title for king Chinglen Nongtren Khompa alias Gambhir Singh. It also indicates that the country was given the name Manipur by the outsiders at that time, 1826 CE.

Manung mapan literally an inner and an outer. Also used for for a person who says one thing while meaning something completely different, a two-faced person.

Mapi wet-nurse. It was the normal practice amongst the Manipuris to find a wet-nurse from amongst the neighbours and friends before the mother could feed her baby.

Mantop a large covered area by a temple or a courtyard where religious and secular functions are carried out.

Mapam term for the parental home of a Manipuri married maiden, who leaves her home and family after marriage to join her husband. In exceptional cases where the husband joins and stays with his bride, the term used is *yawong yinpa*.

Marinpa a conflation of two words, *mari* relative or relation, *npa* from *nipa*, male. Relation with a male who is not the husband.

Maunds Indian weight measure used before Kilogram was introduced. 1 *maund* = 37.32 kg.

Mayamma or *mayampa* elder brother.

Mayang westerners, Indians.

Mayang Lampu *lampu*, an appointee of the king and who exercises some power over the Mayangs to keep law and order. Compare *Hao Lampu*.

Mayang Ngampa 'Conqueror of the Mayangs', Mayampa alias Garibniwaz was designated by this title 'Mayang Ngampa' after his abdication in Sakabda 1670 (1748 CE).

Mayang Ningthounaita in the area where Mayangs who were the servants of the king were settled.

Meetingul/Meetengu lord of the Meeteis.

Meita sakhi touye ordeal by fire. How this was carried out is not clear. *Sakhi* for *Sakhyi* Bengali for witness.

Meitan Keisangpa the person in charge of state stores where charcoal for the king was stored.

Men name of the opening of the sacred tunnel in the Kangla where the legitimate Meetei Kings are enthroned.

Mohendra khyen Bengali *Khyan*, meaning a specific period in time, related to *Mohendra* (or *Indra*), a Hindu deity.

Mongpa sang probably the shrine at Mongpa Hanpa grove which was destroyed during the reign of Mayampa (alias Garibniwaz) during his hinduising programme.

Muhasap for *Mahotsab*, Bengali for great feast.

Nai servant, also used as an expression of lowliness when addressing the almighty or a king.

Naha woihanye literally made him become a youth, executed.

Naha Rakpa (*Lakpa*) the person in charge of the youth of either the whole land or a specific area.

Nai Mahut Hanpa compensation or reimbursement of the expected output of a worker belonging to the king when that worker is taken out from the task. Term *nai* was used for those who worked in the fields and state granaries as well as domestic helpers who lived in the house of the employer.

Nakhyatra bisadta Bengali *Nakhyatra bischad*, when the sidereal constellations were low in the sky. The scribe has improvised the nasal sound *khy* for the loan word *Nakhyatra*.

Nam Pala Bengali, choir which sang songs describing the deeds of Hindu gods.

Namthang Khulak (*khutlak*) cloth of either silk or fine cotton with complicated delicate embroidery done either in the weaving or subsequently; later the pattern was also used on the border of men's (*kokyet*) headdress and ladies' fine *Innaphi* (stole); was also used as a reward cloth given by the king.

Nga-cha, hei-cha neiye literally they ate fish and fruit together. Probably a feast where fish and fruit were served.

Nganeipa one of the methods used to catch fish where the mud is churned after draining the water from a set area. This method is still used.

Ningthem macha king's child or a one born in the Ningthemmayum family.

Ningthemmayum relatives of Ningthem (the king) but who are not themselves direct descendants of kings.

Nirpon Bengali term for the rite performed by Brahmins in which a new image or a carving is believed to have been infused with life making it become a deity. After this rite the image is worshipped by Hindus, including the Brahmins themselves who have deified it.

Noboratan Bengali, new clerks to the Brahmins.

Nongchup West.

Nonghum sang either a shrine or an institute relating to the rain ceremony.

Nongmei singjang literally the axe with thundering gunshot. Lightning strike.

Nongmei Khagempa most likely a gun which was used at Khakempa's time.

Nongkoup pied-crested cuckoo, *clamator jaconus*.

Nongsa and *Santou* *Nongsa* is the carving of a mythical lion's head which became the state emblem of the Kingdom of Manipur. *Santou* probably for *santang/sandang*, mithun.

Nongtharaichuppa probably rainbow-coloured pigeon.

Nongthonpa title for the prime minister or *mantri*.

Nouka Bengali, boat plying on the water.

Numit day or the sun.

Numit ani thokye literally two suns appeared i.e., an intercalary day.

Padathuli Bengali *padadhuli*, dust from under the feet.

Pakhanglakpa official in charge of male youths.

Pakhangpa the founding ancestor of the Ningthouja *yek* of the Meetei clan to which the Meetei kings belonged.

Pakhangpa Haraopa the pleasing ceremony in honour of the spirit of the ancestor of the Ningthouja *yek* and subsequently of all the Meetei people.

Pala term used for male and female choirs.

Pancha Jukta Bengali, five eons. Title given to Chinglen Nongtren Khompa, king of Manipur, by the Bengalis.

Panchami a Bengali term for fifth; used for the fifth month in the year according to the Bengali Hindu calendar. Also referred as *Shri Pancham*. *Shri* Sanskrit honorific term.

Panda Bamon Indian Hindu priests stationed at a particular temple as opposed to the peripatetic Hindu monks who claim to be priests.

Pangan Muslims who had settled in Manipur.

Pangan Sanglakpa chief of the Pangan Institute, that is Manipuri Muslims who had integrated into the Meetei social structure but kept to their religion.

Patcha the Institute which dealt with lakes and its products. There was also the *Patcha* Court which dealt with *Sageis* and *Salais* (clans and extended families) as well as cases where women, including women from the royal family were involved.

Patchahanpa senior official in charge of lakes.

Patda Sagar *pat* Manipuri term for lake, plus *sagar* Bengali term for sea. Bengali name given to *Mantri Pukhri*, named after Aananta Sai the *Nongthonpa* (the prime minister).

Perekhongpa literally one who plays a bugle. Later this title was given to the official bugle players and it became their family name.

Pham thariye laid as the foundation of a building or a bridge; the phrase *pham thaba* also means to offer a seat to another person as to a visitor.

Phirangchi red thick woolen cloth worn as a wrapper over their bodies by the *Hao Lambus* and the *Khunlakpa* (heads of villages) as a symbol of their official

post. Apart from these only the Manipuri royalty can use this coloured cloth, but as a mat to sit on at official public gatherings.

Phiringki probably derived from *Fareng*, *Firing*, a Persian word used for Europeans.

Pholar for *phola*, a preparation made of soaked, flattened, parboiled rice (*chengpak*) to which is added milk, molasses and cream. This preparation is often offered to the Hindu gods and is also used in social and religious gatherings.

Phounata literally with paddy in leaves in the field. Normally the farmer has the right of ownership over portions of the standing crop and fields with standing crops are not usually sold.

Phourungpa official in charge of paddy, for growing, collecting and distribution of the crop.

Phuki obscure, probably a corrupt form of *phakir*, Bengali for a beggar or a mendicant.

Phungka literal meaning, hearth. This term came to apply to those who were adopted by the king and who became his wards, and might include those captured in battle, orphans, and those children who were given into the king's custody by the parents to secure a better life for the child.

Phungkanai either household servants or servants who had their own family hearth. There was also a *Phungkanai Sanglakpa* who was responsible for the building where the *Phungkanais* were housed. They worked for the king and were not slaves.

Phungkanai Lanlam ka army formed of the servants and followers of a particular person. *Ka* suffix, with.

Phunkhaiye from verb *phunkhaipa* to break through an opening.

Phurit Sapi literally one who sews shirts, tailor.

Pitai touye Bengali term for good-bye.

Potphol may be a scribal rendering for *chorphol*, big, green olive which grows in Manipur.

Potlanba or *potlanpa* to pass an object, a traditional custom of presenting gifts such as fruit, sweets, flowers as an expression of happiness and friendliness.

Praichit Sanskrit/Bengali meaning expiation. In Manipur *praichit* is performed for a person, a building or an area as a cleansing rite from ritual defilement due to the presence of non-Hindus, Europeans, Muslim, Aawas, etc.

Prem Tarangkini a written piece of Bengali origin.

Pukhri pool.

Pumna wumme literally to have the whole object in the mouth. Phrase used for total eclipse. Alternative phrase is *pumna yotle*, swallowed whole.

Prem Bengali, loving devotion.

Purnima Bengali term for full moon, in place of *Thanin*.

Ramlila a Hindu religious play depicting the story of the mythical Hindu king Ram.

Rajtantra Bengali term for royal judgement. Term *tantra* also means the austere religious rules of the Hindus.

Ratha Panhoppi probably a Hindu nun. Not clear as to which sect they belonged.

Ras for *Ras Lila* Bengali term for Manipuri Hindu religious dance, based on the

- dance form of the traditional Meetei Lai Haraoba, depicting the mythology of *Krishna* as the cowherd and his play with the milk maids of the Hindu *Krishna* cult.
- Roi* for *loi* tribute payment. Verb, to subjugate, to occupy.
- Sajiphu* for *Sachiphu*; after the Bengali influence *j* and *ch* were interchangeably used.
- Samadhi* Bengali for tomb, grave.
- Samangtrai* probably a corrupt form of *Samantrak*, Bengali for sacred verses. The king sometimes uttered these verses before the army left for battle.
- Samukontha* rhinoceros.
- Samusenpa Hanchapa* official in charge of elephant hands.
- San* term used for both a cow or a bull, unless the gender is indicated. Also used for weight measure for gold and silver.
- San nai* from *masan mania*; literally his cattle and his servants.
- Sandhya arti* Bengali for fire offering to the Hindu images at dusk before they are put to bed.
- Sangaisen paiye* meteorite fell. Often conceived as an omen.
- Sangbai* basket used for measuring grain and other agricultural products, weighs approximately 29.86 kg. Size of baskets differs slightly from area to area. This measurement is still used in Manipur.
- Sangkranti ahnpa ahnpa (ahanpa)* first in time or new. Older or first *Sangkranti*; in the term *ahnpa* the short vowel *a* between *h* and *n* is understood as repeated.
- Sangkranti aarompa* the last *Sangkranti*.
- Sangsalo* professional builders.
- Sakonhawai* black lentil (Indian name *urad*).
- Sansenpa* one who looks after the cattle.
- Santan* Bengali for descendant.
- Santou* probably *santang/sandang*, mithun.
- Sapa koupa* clothes with block print.
- Sareng* fish *wallago attu*, fresh water species.
- Sati* the burning alive of Hindu widows with their husbands. The practice did not take root in Manipur.
- Satwan* title for an official.
- Sen* Manipuri currency coin made of bell metal.
- Senchapa* literally one who eats *sen* currency, one who receives or takes bribes.
- Senman nai* a servant to work in place of a monetary amount which one owes.
- Senman* price in *sen* currency.
- Sija* princess either by birth or marriage to a prince or a male of the king's extended family.
- Silot/Sinlot* Sylhet, in present Bangladesh.
- Siphai* for *sepoys*, of both the British Indian Army and the Manipuri Army.
- Siphai lok* Bengali term for soldiers in the British and the Manipuri Army.
- Singhason* Bengali for throne.
- Sitha prapta* Bengali phrase used for death as release from the cycle of birth, death and rebirth as a result of karma and reincarnation.

Sna or Sana royal or gold.

Sna hachang yeina hukye *hachang yeina hukye* phrase meaning to encase, to trim with gold inlay, to enhance.

Snakwagok a small box where the king keeps his betelnut and other edibles.

Sna muhor aamana kongkon thinpa a cloth with raised golden filigree work on it.

Snakhwa term originally used in addressing genuine prince; now used in addressing any older male of the Ningthemcha mayum family.

Snamahi or Sanamahi the name for the supreme god of the Manipuris who was not represented in any form. Attributes such as creator, sustainer, imageless, omnipotence, infinity are associated with him. Snamahi could also mean the divine life force, from *sna* meaning supreme, divine, *mahi*, liquid, blood, life force.

Sna wupu chanye *sna wupu* literally royal box. Phrase indicates that something has been recorded in the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* which was normally kept in the palace in a royal box under lock and key.

Sna san aama one *san* of gold. $\frac{1}{4}$ of 11.664 gram, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 0.375 troy ounce.

Song a land trap used by the Meeteis to catch wild elephants; a specific area is enclosed with trenches leaving only one opening on the path the elephants normally take. After the elephants have entered the enclosure the opening is blocked with big logs.

Sorok street.

Sudra the fourth lowest group of people in the hierarchical Hindu caste system. In the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* it refers to the immigrants of the *sudra* caste.

Suknuta Loi thaiye deported to *Loi* to Suknu. Deportation to Suknu was the prerogative of the king only, and it also had a deeper implication, that of capital punishment by drowning.

Sukunu a variant spelling of Suknu.

Sutra (or *sudra*) *Sutra* Bengali for the Hindu sacred thread worn by the upper three castes of Hindus, rule or direction.

Shrijut Sanskrit honorific term, highness.

Shri Brindabanda thuple phrase is euphemism for death. *Shri Brindaban* Hindu sacred place, *ta* suffix at.

Taku from Bengali *daku* meaning a ruffian, brigand. The term is used colloqually for resistance fighters, patriots.

Tampak Leima title for the Jubraj's wife.

Tan pancake-shaped rolled out plain soft dough, made of white wheat flour or mixed with brown flour and water, and deep fried in purified butter or oil.

Tan dakhina *tan* for *dan* from Bengali *daksina*, gifts donation, fees made by caste Hindus to the officiating priest.

Tangkha Hindusthani for coins.

Tanna hi another term for *hiyang*, racing barge.

Tan wasa saiye paid a wager by entertaining the winner with *tan*, deep fried pancakes.

Taoroinai snake; believed to be the visual symbol or the steed of Pakhangba.

Tengkhal Sang An Institute which dealt with stone masons, those who dug trenches, drains and graves, and those who were responsible for king's parks and gardens. Subsequently they came to be known as Tengkhal.

Tengkhan (i) an inhabitant of Tengka (ii) also used for trigger of the gun and (iii) probably also used for the official building where guns were housed.

Tolaipaba or *Tulaipaba* or *Dolaipaba* a junior appointee of the king whose responsibilities consisted in enforcing law and order and arresting people suspected of crimes. Sometimes this power was abused and he became a person much feared by the general public. He was answerable to the king.

Tulairoi Hanchapa official in charge of palanquin bearers. Later this post became designated for one of the reigning king's brothers.

Tula scale of measurement for gold and silver. 1 *tula* = .3625 oz = 10.421 gr.

Tirtha Bengali term for a place of pilgrimage.

Tha month or the moon.

Thakur Bengali for idol, deity, person deserving respect, preceptor, a Brahmin cook.

Thakurani wife of a Thakur who was a Brahmin. Later as the positions of the Brahmins came to ascendancy this term was used even for the Meetei queens in place of *Meetei Leima*.

Thawanpichak mamei naipa for *thawanmichak* star, literally small star with a tail, a comet.

Thingba to stop, to block up or to build a dam in order to divert the course of the waters.

Thintharupa from verb *thinba* to escort. In relation to a *lai* an invocation to the *lai* to descend down from his abode.

Thire for *maithire*, defeated.

Thou toupá traditional appeasement rites.

Thum-nama one of a pair of home made flat salt cakes; normally sold in pairs.

Thum-ama one measure of salt consisting 100 flat salt cakes.

Vagyachantra or *Vagyachandra* or *Bhagachandra* alias *Jai Singh* Sanskrit name given to Chingthangkhopma by his Hindu admirers.

Vek piba vek Bengali for disguise, to put on the garb of a Vaishnavite ascetic, *piba* to give. A Hindu religious rite which in Manipur is ministered mostly as the last rite to a person to be freed from *samsara*.

Wangkhei pala choir named after one of the main areas in the capital city.

Wangngu place name. Wangngu was considered to be one of the *Loi* areas after hinduisation. It was also a place for deportation.

Wari tapa or *Wari liba* listening to or telling of legendary tales or ballads to an audience in a dramatic manner.

Wasa sai literally made the whip, or chewed the whip; *wasá* a small branch of bamboo used as a whip, *sai* to make or to chew. Sometimes term is used to mean whipping people.

Wayensang Administrative Court.

Wukai Takpa to flatten the ground with a wooden roller which is pulled by beasts. The phrase is also used when one is made to work to one's limit.

Wurungpuren (Urungpuren) chief forestry officer.

Wusang (usang) building where timber is stored and carpentry work is carried out, also the name of a green orchid.

Wutong (utong) chak rice cooked in a bamboo joint. The rice grain is put with water in a section of bamboo, placed upright, and fire is made round it till it is almost burnt. Then the bamboo skin is peeled off and the rice is taken out and eaten. This method is often used by travellers since they do not have to carry a cooking pot, and bamboo grew wild in great abundance.

Yaishkun a variant spelling of Yaiskun. Place name.

Yambung addressing the elder brother in a polite form.

Yenlam herbal spice. It is a small plant of the *alium* family similar to chives and has white small flowers in clusters. While fresh it is used in salads, and in cooking both the fresh and the dried leaves are used. It is essential in Chinese cuisine and is known to them as Chinese leek. Another Manipuri name for this herbal spice is *Maroi*. It has two varieties, with small and bigger leaves.

Yennapa to share out or to make a settlement.

Yimphan present Imphal city.

Yimu residents near the Loktak lake.

Yingou residents near the big river.

Yipungsi and *Yipungo* official designation for a prince, also a term of endearment for males.

Yipungsi Jubrajkitamak an act being performed for the prince, the Jubraj.

Yirin chingchin the source of the Yirin river in the mountain.

Yiroipa place name. Probably an archaic form of the present day Yiroisenpa.

Yisanaisai haituna conflation of *yisa* self, *nai* servant, *sai* from *saba* to act; meaning to act treacherously; *haituna* on account of, for. For acting treacherously.

Yoiren another name for *Maipi* and *Maipas*, religious functionaries.

Yoirensang Maipi and Maipa Institution.

Yonchahanye from verb *yonba* to sell, was allowed to sell.

Yuthak and *Pung* method of reckoning time by the Meeteis. See Introduction and additional note in Vol. 1. pp. 154–155.

PART THREE

THE *CHEITHARON KUMPAPA*: THE ORIGINAL SCRIPT

MEETEI MAYEK OR MEETEI SCRIPT

Approved *Meetei Mayek* script. See *Manipur Gazette* No. 33, 22 April 1980, Annexure 1–5 (1/2/78–SS/E)

Original letters (*Eeyek Eepi*)

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Probable meaning</i>	<i>Equivalent</i>
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	kok	head	k
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	sam	hair	s
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	lai (for <i>laipak</i>)	forehead	l
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	mit	eye	m
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	pa	eyelash	p
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	na	ears	n
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	chil	lips	ch
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	til	saliva (or life)	t
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	khoul	palate	kh
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	ngou	larynx	ng
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	thou	rib cage	th
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	wai	embryo or sperm	w
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	yang	spine	y
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	hak (for hakchang)	body (or human being)	h
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	uun	skin	u
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	ee	blood	ee, i
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	pham	womb	ph
𑜀𑜢𑜤𑜰𑜫	atiya	sky (implying birth)	a

Letters developed later

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Equivalent</i>
𑜀	gok	g
𑜁	jham	jh
𑜂	rai	r
𑜃	ba	b
𑜄	jeel	j
𑜅	deel	d
𑜆	ghou	gh
𑜇	dhou	dh
𑜈	bham	bh

**Final forms of the letters used in closed syllables
(lonsum eeyek)**

<i>Letter</i>	<i>Final form</i>	<i>Equivalent</i>
𑜉	𑜊	k
𑜋	𑜌	l
𑜍	𑜎	m
𑜏	𑜐	p
𑜑	𑜒	n
𑜓	𑜔	t
𑜕	𑜖	ng

Vowel signs

<i>Sign</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Equivalent</i>	<i>Position in relation to the letter</i>
𑜗	otnap	o	after
𑜘	inap	i	after
𑜙	anap	aa	above
𑜚	yetnap	e	after
𑜛	sounap	ou	above
𑜜	unap	u	under
𑜝	cheinap	ei	above
𑜞		ng	above

Numerical signs

<i>Numerical signs</i>	<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Equivalent</i>
᠑	Ama	১	1
᠒	Ani	২	2
᠓	Ahum	৩	3
᠔	Mari	৪	4
᠕	Manga	৫	5
᠖	Taruk	৬	6
᠗	Taret	৭	7
᠘	Nipan	৮	8
᠙	Mapan	৯	9
᠑᠐	Tara	১০	10

Punctuation

A black round circle between two sets of vertical parallel lines is equivalent to a semicolon or a full stop.

THE MANUSCRIPT TEXT OF
THE *CHEITHARONKUMPAPA*
IN *MEETEI MAYEK*

[illegible][illegible]

232

[illegible]

[Faint handwritten Devanagari script, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

১১৮

236

238

৬০৮

[illegible]

[illegible]

৩২৪

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

હેલેલુલા હૈ ॥ ૧૨ ॥ ૨૦ ॥ ૩૦ ॥ ૪૦ ॥ ૫૦ ॥ ૬૦ ॥ ૭૦ ॥ ૮૦ ॥ ૯૦ ॥ ૧૦૦ ॥ ૧૧૦ ॥ ૧૨૦ ॥ ૧૩૦ ॥ ૧૪૦ ॥ ૧૫૦ ॥ ૧૬૦ ॥ ૧૭૦ ॥ ૧૮૦ ॥ ૧૯૦ ॥ ૨૦૦ ॥ ૨૧૦ ॥ ૨૨૦ ॥ ૨૩૦ ॥ ૨૪૦ ॥ ૨૫૦ ॥ ૨૬૦ ॥ ૨૭૦ ॥ ૨૮૦ ॥ ૨૯૦ ॥ ૩૦૦ ॥ ૩૧૦ ॥ ૩૨૦ ॥ ૩૩૦ ॥ ૩૪૦ ॥ ૩૫૦ ॥ ૩૬૦ ॥ ૩૭૦ ॥ ૩૮૦ ॥ ૩૯૦ ॥ ૪૦૦ ॥ ૪૧૦ ॥ ૪૨૦ ॥ ૪૩૦ ॥ ૪૪૦ ॥ ૪૫૦ ॥ ૪૬૦ ॥ ૪૭૦ ॥ ૪૮૦ ॥ ૪૯૦ ॥ ૫૦૦ ॥ ૫૧૦ ॥ ૫૨૦ ॥ ૫૩૦ ॥ ૫૪૦ ॥ ૫૫૦ ॥ ૫૬૦ ॥ ૫૭૦ ॥ ૫૮૦ ॥ ૫૯૦ ॥ ૬૦૦ ॥ ૬૧૦ ॥ ૬૨૦ ॥ ૬૩૦ ॥ ૬૪૦ ॥ ૬૫૦ ॥ ૬૬૦ ॥ ૬૭૦ ॥ ૬૮૦ ॥ ૬૯૦ ॥ ૭૦૦ ॥ ૭૧૦ ॥ ૭૨૦ ॥ ૭૩૦ ॥ ૭૪૦ ॥ ૭૫૦ ॥ ૭૬૦ ॥ ૭૭૦ ॥ ૭૮૦ ॥ ૭૯૦ ॥ ૮૦૦ ॥ ૮૧૦ ॥ ૮૨૦ ॥ ૮૩૦ ॥ ૮૪૦ ॥ ૮૫૦ ॥ ૮૬૦ ॥ ૮૭૦ ॥ ૮૮૦ ॥ ૮૯૦ ॥ ૯૦૦ ॥ ૯૧૦ ॥ ૯૨૦ ॥ ૯૩૦ ॥ ૯૪૦ ॥ ૯૫૦ ॥ ૯૬૦ ॥ ૯૭૦ ॥ ૯૮૦ ॥ ૯૯૦ ॥ ૧૦૦૦ ॥

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હેલેલુલા હૈ ॥ ૧૨ ॥ ૨૦ ॥ ૩૦ ॥ ૪૦ ॥ ૫૦ ॥ ૬૦ ॥ ૭૦ ॥ ૮૦ ॥ ૯૦ ॥ ૧૦૦ ॥ ૧૧૦ ॥ ૧૨૦ ॥ ૧૩૦ ॥ ૧૪૦ ॥ ૧૫૦ ॥ ૧૬૦ ॥ ૧૭૦ ॥ ૧૮૦ ॥ ૧૯૦ ॥ ૨૦૦ ॥ ૨૧૦ ॥ ૨૨૦ ॥ ૨૩૦ ॥ ૨૪૦ ॥ ૨૫૦ ॥ ૨૬૦ ॥ ૨૭૦ ॥ ૨૮૦ ॥ ૨૯૦ ॥ ૩૦૦ ॥ ૩૧૦ ॥ ૩૨૦ ॥ ૩૩૦ ॥ ૩૪૦ ॥ ૩૫૦ ॥ ૩૬૦ ॥ ૩૭૦ ॥ ૩૮૦ ॥ ૩૯૦ ॥ ૪૦૦ ॥ ૪૧૦ ॥ ૪૨૦ ॥ ૪૩૦ ॥ ૪૪૦ ॥ ૪૫૦ ॥ ૪૬૦ ॥ ૪૭૦ ॥ ૪૮૦ ॥ ૪૯૦ ॥ ૫૦૦ ॥ ૫૧૦ ॥ ૫૨૦ ॥ ૫૩૦ ॥ ૫૪૦ ॥ ૫૫૦ ॥ ૫૬૦ ॥ ૫૭૦ ॥ ૫૮૦ ॥ ૫૯૦ ॥ ૬૦૦ ॥ ૬૧૦ ॥ ૬૨૦ ॥ ૬૩૦ ॥ ૬૪૦ ॥ ૬૫૦ ॥ ૬૬૦ ॥ ૬૭૦ ॥ ૬૮૦ ॥ ૬૯૦ ॥ ૭૦૦ ॥ ૭૧૦ ॥ ૭૨૦ ॥ ૭૩૦ ॥ ૭૪૦ ॥ ૭૫૦ ॥ ૭૬૦ ॥ ૭૭૦ ॥ ૭૮૦ ॥ ૭૯૦ ॥ ૮૦૦ ॥ ૮૧૦ ॥ ૮૨૦ ॥ ૮૩૦ ॥ ૮૪૦ ॥ ૮૫૦ ॥ ૮૬૦ ॥ ૮૭૦ ॥ ૮૮૦ ॥ ૮૯૦ ॥ ૯૦૦ ॥ ૯૧૦ ॥ ૯૨૦ ॥ ૯૩૦ ॥ ૯૪૦ ॥ ૯૫૦ ॥ ૯૬૦ ॥ ૯૭૦ ॥ ૯૮૦ ॥ ૯૯૦ ॥ ૧૦૦૦ ॥

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274

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268

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286

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288

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644
284

[illegible]

ଜୋର
୧୪୭

294

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[illegible]

300

[illegible]

67
204

[illegible]

ਦੇ ਤਮ ਤਮੋ ਸਮਝ ॥ ੨੭ ॥ ਏ ਰਾਭੇ ਗਲੇ ਰਾਗੀ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੧ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੨ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੩ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੪ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੫ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੬ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੭ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੮ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੯ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੧੦੦ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥

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 ੧੦੨

੦੨੬ ॥ ੦੩ ॥ ੦੪ ॥ ੦੫ ॥ ੦੬ ॥ ੦੭ ॥ ੦੮ ॥ ੦੯ ॥ ੧੦ ॥ ੧੧ ॥ ੧੨ ॥ ੧੩ ॥ ੧੪ ॥ ੧੫ ॥ ੧੬ ॥ ੧੭ ॥ ੧੮ ॥ ੧੯ ॥ ੨੦ ॥ ੨੧ ॥ ੨੨ ॥ ੨੩ ॥ ੨੪ ॥ ੨੫ ॥ ੨੬ ॥ ੨੭ ॥ ੨੮ ॥ ੨੯ ॥ ੩੦ ॥ ੩੧ ॥ ੩੨ ॥ ੩੩ ॥ ੩੪ ॥ ੩੫ ॥ ੩੬ ॥ ੩੭ ॥ ੩੮ ॥ ੩੯ ॥ ੪੦ ॥ ੪੧ ॥ ੪੨ ॥ ੪੩ ॥ ੪੪ ॥ ੪੫ ॥ ੪੬ ॥ ੪੭ ॥ ੪੮ ॥ ੪੯ ॥ ੫੦ ॥ ੫੧ ॥ ੫੨ ॥ ੫੩ ॥ ੫੪ ॥ ੫੫ ॥ ੫੬ ॥ ੫੭ ॥ ੫੮ ॥ ੫੯ ॥ ੬੦ ॥ ੬੧ ॥ ੬੨ ॥ ੬੩ ॥ ੬੪ ॥ ੬੫ ॥ ੬੬ ॥ ੬੭ ॥ ੬੮ ॥ ੬੯ ॥ ੭੦ ॥ ੭੧ ॥ ੭੨ ॥ ੭੩ ॥ ੭੪ ॥ ੭੫ ॥ ੭੬ ॥ ੭੭ ॥ ੭੮ ॥ ੭੯ ॥ ੮੦ ॥ ੮੧ ॥ ੮੨ ॥ ੮੩ ॥ ੮੪ ॥ ੮੫ ॥ ੮੬ ॥ ੮੭ ॥ ੮੮ ॥ ੮੯ ॥ ੯੦ ॥ ੯੧ ॥ ੯੨ ॥ ੯੩ ॥ ੯੪ ॥ ੯੫ ॥ ੯੬ ॥ ੯੭ ॥ ੯੮ ॥ ੯੯ ॥ ੧੦੦ ॥

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ਮੁਖ

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ਸਾਧ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ੩੦੦੩ ਦੇ ੧੩੪ ॥ ੪੮੯ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ॥ ਕੇਰੇ ਹੋਏ ਫੁਲਾ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਏ ॥ ੧੮
 ਨਾਮ ੩੦੦੩ ॥ ੧੮੧ ਗੋਲਾ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ੦੩ ਕੇਰੇ ਸਾਧ ਸਾਧ ॥ ੧੦੦੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ
 ੧੮੧ ਗੋਲਾ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ॥ ੨੦੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ
 ੧੮੧ ਗੋਲਾ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ੨ ਕੇਰੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ॥ ਸਾਧ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ੦੩ ॥
 ੨੮੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ੩ ਕੇਰੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ॥ ਸਾਧ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ੦੩ ॥
 ੧੩੪ ॥ ੩੦੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ॥ ੨੮੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੩੦੦੩ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ੪੮੯ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ
 ੨੦੦੦ ਨਾਮ ॥ ੨੦੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ॥ ੧੦੦੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ
 ਨੂੰ ਦੇ ॥ ਕੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੧੩੪ ॥ ੧੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ
 ਦੇ ॥ ੨੦੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੧੩੪ ॥ ੨੮੮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ
 ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ੩ ਕੇਰੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ
 ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ੧੦੦੩ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ॥ ਸਾਧ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ੦੩ ੩੦੮
 ਨਾਮ ॥ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ॥ ਕੇਰੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੮ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਨੂੰ ਨਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਮ ੨੦੦੦ ਗੋਲਾ ਫੁਲਾ ਮੇਰੇ ੩ ਕੇਰੇ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ

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१४ एर एरिं गेगो एर एर ॥ १५ एर एर ॥ १६ एर एर ॥ १७ एर एर ॥ १८ एर एर ॥ १९ एर एर ॥ २० एर एर ॥ २१ एर एर ॥ २२ एर एर ॥ २३ एर एर ॥ २४ एर एर ॥ २५ एर एर ॥ २६ एर एर ॥ २७ एर एर ॥ २८ एर एर ॥ २९ एर एर ॥ ३० एर एर ॥ ३१ एर एर ॥ ३२ एर एर ॥ ३३ एर एर ॥ ३४ एर एर ॥ ३५ एर एर ॥ ३६ एर एर ॥ ३७ एर एर ॥ ३८ एर एर ॥ ३९ एर एर ॥ ४० एर एर ॥ ४१ एर एर ॥ ४२ एर एर ॥ ४३ एर एर ॥ ४४ एर एर ॥ ४५ एर एर ॥ ४६ एर एर ॥ ४७ एर एर ॥ ४८ एर एर ॥ ४९ एर एर ॥ ५० एर एर ॥ ५१ एर एर ॥ ५२ एर एर ॥ ५३ एर एर ॥ ५४ एर एर ॥ ५५ एर एर ॥ ५६ एर एर ॥ ५७ एर एर ॥ ५८ एर एर ॥ ५९ एर एर ॥ ६० एर एर ॥ ६१ एर एर ॥ ६२ एर एर ॥ ६३ एर एर ॥ ६४ एर एर ॥ ६५ एर एर ॥ ६६ एर एर ॥ ६७ एर एर ॥ ६८ एर एर ॥ ६९ एर एर ॥ ७० एर एर ॥ ७१ एर एर ॥ ७२ एर एर ॥ ७३ एर एर ॥ ७४ एर एर ॥ ७५ एर एर ॥ ७६ एर एर ॥ ७७ एर एर ॥ ७८ एर एर ॥ ७९ एर एर ॥ ८० एर एर ॥ ८१ एर एर ॥ ८२ एर एर ॥ ८३ एर एर ॥ ८४ एर एर ॥ ८५ एर एर ॥ ८६ एर एर ॥ ८७ एर एर ॥ ८८ एर एर ॥ ८९ एर एर ॥ ९० एर एर ॥ ९१ एर एर ॥ ९२ एर एर ॥ ९३ एर एर ॥ ९४ एर एर ॥ ९५ एर एर ॥ ९६ एर एर ॥ ९७ एर एर ॥ ९८ एर एर ॥ ९९ एर एर ॥ १०० एर एर ॥

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[illegible]

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275

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199

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356

362

[illegible]

677
252

[illegible]

[illegible]

678
254

[illegible]

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

[illegible]

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25

[illegible]

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378

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

391
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अर्जुनसंवादे ॥ १० ॥

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[illegible]

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[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ਸੀ ਜੇ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਹੁ ਸਨੇ ਨਾ ਗੇ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੧ ਏ ਹੀ ਗੇ ਏ ਗੇ ਏ ਗੇ ॥ ਏ ੨੦ ਸੁ ਏ ਸੁ
 ੨੦ ਗੇ ॥ ਏ ੨੦ ਏ ॥ ੨੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੧੦੦ ਏ ਏ ॥

ਭੀ
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ਸੁ ਏ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਹੁ ਸਨੇ ਨਾ ਗੇ ॥ ਏ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੧ ਏ ਹੀ ਗੇ ਏ ਗੇ ਏ ਗੇ ॥ ਏ ੨੦ ਸੁ ਏ ਸੁ
 ੨੦ ਗੇ ॥ ਏ ੨੦ ਏ ॥ ੨੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੨੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੩੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੪੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੫੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੬੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੭੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੮੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੦ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੧ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੨ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੩ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੪ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੫ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੬ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੭ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੮ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੯੯ ਏ ਏ ॥ ੧੦੦ ਏ ਏ ॥

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३६॥ ३२१॥ ३३॥ ३४॥ ३५॥ ३६॥ ३७॥ ३८॥ ३९॥ ४०॥ ४१॥ ४२॥ ४३॥ ४४॥ ४५॥ ४६॥ ४७॥ ४८॥ ४९॥ ५०॥ ५१॥ ५२॥ ५३॥ ५४॥ ५५॥ ५६॥ ५७॥ ५८॥ ५९॥ ६०॥ ६१॥ ६२॥ ६३॥ ६४॥ ६५॥ ६६॥ ६७॥ ६८॥ ६९॥ ७०॥ ७१॥ ७२॥ ७३॥ ७४॥ ७५॥ ७६॥ ७७॥ ७८॥ ७९॥ ८०॥ ८१॥ ८२॥ ८३॥ ८४॥ ८५॥ ८६॥ ८७॥ ८८॥ ८९॥ ९०॥ ९१॥ ९२॥ ९३॥ ९४॥ ९५॥ ९६॥ ९७॥ ९८॥ ९९॥ १००॥

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ਗੋ ਘਰ ਆਏ ਘਰ ਗੋ ਤੇ ॥ ਭ੍ਰਮ ਫੇਰੇ ਕੋ ਫੇਰੇ ਆਧਰ ਸੈ ਰਾ ਗੋ ॥ ੧ ॥ ਏ ਆਧਰ ਘਰੇ ੨ ॥ ੨ ॥
 ਫੇਰੇ ੩ ॥ ਘਰ ਸੀ ੪ ॥ ੫ ॥ ੬ ॥ ੭ ॥ ੮ ॥ ੯ ॥ ੧੦ ॥ ੧੧ ॥ ੧੨ ॥ ੧੩ ॥ ੧੪ ॥ ੧੫ ॥ ੧੬ ॥ ੧੭ ॥ ੧੮ ॥ ੧੯ ॥ ੨੦ ॥ ੨੧ ॥ ੨੨ ॥ ੨੩ ॥ ੨੪ ॥ ੨੫ ॥ ੨੬ ॥ ੨੭ ॥ ੨੮ ॥ ੨੯ ॥ ੩੦ ॥ ੩੧ ॥ ੩੨ ॥ ੩੩ ॥ ੩੪ ॥ ੩੫ ॥ ੩੬ ॥ ੩੭ ॥ ੩੮ ॥ ੩੯ ॥ ੪੦ ॥ ੪੧ ॥ ੪੨ ॥ ੪੩ ॥ ੪੪ ॥ ੪੫ ॥ ੪੬ ॥ ੪੭ ॥ ੪੮ ॥ ੪੯ ॥ ੫੦ ॥ ੫੧ ॥ ੫੨ ॥ ੫੩ ॥ ੫੪ ॥ ੫੫ ॥ ੫੬ ॥ ੫੭ ॥ ੫੮ ॥ ੫੯ ॥ ੬੦ ॥ ੬੧ ॥ ੬੨ ॥ ੬੩ ॥ ੬੪ ॥ ੬੫ ॥ ੬੬ ॥ ੬੭ ॥ ੬੮ ॥ ੬੯ ॥ ੭੦ ॥ ੭੧ ॥ ੭੨ ॥ ੭੩ ॥ ੭੪ ॥ ੭੫ ॥ ੭੬ ॥ ੭੭ ॥ ੭੮ ॥ ੭੯ ॥ ੮੦ ॥ ੮੧ ॥ ੮੨ ॥ ੮੩ ॥ ੮੪ ॥ ੮੫ ॥ ੮੬ ॥ ੮੭ ॥ ੮੮ ॥ ੮੯ ॥ ੯੦ ॥ ੯੧ ॥ ੯੨ ॥ ੯੩ ॥ ੯੪ ॥ ੯੫ ॥ ੯੬ ॥ ੯੭ ॥ ੯੮ ॥ ੯੯ ॥ ੧੦੦ ॥

ਭ੍ਰਮ
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ਭੇ ਘਰ ਗੋ ੧ ॥ ੨ ॥ ੩ ॥ ੪ ॥ ੫ ॥ ੬ ॥ ੭ ॥ ੮ ॥ ੯ ॥ ੧੦ ॥ ੧੧ ॥ ੧੨ ॥ ੧੩ ॥ ੧੪ ॥ ੧੫ ॥ ੧੬ ॥ ੧੭ ॥ ੧੮ ॥ ੧੯ ॥ ੨੦ ॥ ੨੧ ॥ ੨੨ ॥ ੨੩ ॥ ੨੪ ॥ ੨੫ ॥ ੨੬ ॥ ੨੭ ॥ ੨੮ ॥ ੨੯ ॥ ੩੦ ॥ ੩੧ ॥ ੩੨ ॥ ੩੩ ॥ ੩੪ ॥ ੩੫ ॥ ੩੬ ॥ ੩੭ ॥ ੩੮ ॥ ੩੯ ॥ ੪੦ ॥ ੪੧ ॥ ੪੨ ॥ ੪੩ ॥ ੪੪ ॥ ੪੫ ॥ ੪੬ ॥ ੪੭ ॥ ੪੮ ॥ ੪੯ ॥ ੫੦ ॥ ੫੧ ॥ ੫੨ ॥ ੫੩ ॥ ੫੪ ॥ ੫੫ ॥ ੫੬ ॥ ੫੭ ॥ ੫੮ ॥ ੫੯ ॥ ੬੦ ॥ ੬੧ ॥ ੬੨ ॥ ੬੩ ॥ ੬੪ ॥ ੬੫ ॥ ੬੬ ॥ ੬੭ ॥ ੬੮ ॥ ੬੯ ॥ ੭੦ ॥ ੭੧ ॥ ੭੨ ॥ ੭੩ ॥ ੭੪ ॥ ੭੫ ॥ ੭੬ ॥ ੭੭ ॥ ੭੮ ॥ ੭੯ ॥ ੮੦ ॥ ੮੧ ॥ ੮੨ ॥ ੮੩ ॥ ੮੪ ॥ ੮੫ ॥ ੮੬ ॥ ੮੭ ॥ ੮੮ ॥ ੮੯ ॥ ੯੦ ॥ ੯੧ ॥ ੯੨ ॥ ੯੩ ॥ ੯੪ ॥ ੯੫ ॥ ੯੬ ॥ ੯੭ ॥ ੯੮ ॥ ੯੯ ॥ ੧੦੦ ॥

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

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